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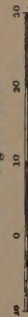


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PALESTINE
IN THE
TIME OF CHRIST.

BY
EDMOND STAPFER, D.D.,
Professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris.

TRANSLATED BY
ANNIE HARWOOD HOLMDEN.

THIRD EDITION, WITH MAP AND PLANS.

NEW YORK:
A. C. ARMSTRONG AND SON,
714 BROADWAY.

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION.

THE second edition of this book was only a reproduction of the first. The third has been carefully revised. Small inaccuracies have been corrected, and due weight has been given to the criticisms of the press. I am much indebted to the public generally for the kind reception accorded to my book by all shades of opinion, and for the appreciation of my endeavour to write, not as the partisan of any school, but simply as a faithful historian.

I may venture to say that the book has been written in entire good faith and sincerity. I have desired to advance the cause of truth, being convinced that in this way the cause of Christianity is best served. I have therefore confined myself to a statement of facts compiled and collated with all the exactness of which I was capable, leaving it to the reader to draw the conclusions which force themselves upon every candid and unprejudiced mind. I am very grateful to those who have called my attention to errors of fact. I have corrected all that have been pointed out to me and which I have verified, and I am still open to such corrections. If among the facts noted by me there

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are some which are unwelcome either as overturning or confirming received ideas, I can only ask those who demur, to prove to me that the statements made are historically untrue. But if the facts cannot be gainsaid, there is no alternative but to accept them, whatever consequences they involve.

There is one conclusion, however, which I have not been able to refrain from expressing, because it forced itself upon me with ever deepening conviction as the work proceeded. I have given it in the form of an appendix in the last chapter. It is in substance this:—Jesus Christ was not the natural product of His environment; His appearance was a miracle; He came from God. Hence it is that a book of history, a work which is only a record of archæological observations, subserves, by virtue of the invincible logic of facts, the cause of Christian apologetics. It has indeed been said, that my closing chapter is insufficient; that it should either not have been written, or the question should have been treated in greater fulness. I cannot accept this criticism, because, as I have already said, this chapter seemed to force itself upon me as the natural conclusion of my book. But I freely admit that what is still wanting is not one chapter on the Christ, but a complete study of His teaching, His person and work, written in the spirit of the present volume on strictly historic lines. This would require a book to itself, and in this sense the last chapter of the present work is undoubtedly incomplete. It is only a point of departure, the introduction to a volume to be occupied wholly with Christ Himself,

Some day perhaps I may be privileged to attempt this, and to add my testimony to that of so many others, as to what the Christ was in His proper environment and in the critical age in which He lived.

Let me add one word more as to the sources of this book. Some have wondered that I have not included Philo among the authors to be consulted on the Palestine of the first century. The omission was intentional. Philo was undoubtedly a Jew; he was born before Christ and died after Him. At the very time when Christ preached the Sermon on the Mount, the Alexandrine theosophist was writing his most curious treatises. I know that he went up to Jerusalem, and that he spoke of the Temple. But this is all; and it is notorious how antagonistic Alexandria was to Jerusalem at the beginning of the first century. The Alexandrines who lived in the Holy City formed a community apart; and if the Alexandrine philosophy was known to some of the inhabitants of Palestine, I am convinced that the Pharisees, as a body, were hostile to it. The two great Jewish centres—Alexandria and Jerusalem—had not yet entered into alliance, and if the treatises of Philo had been brought to the Holy City during the lifetime of Jesus, or if they had been put into the hands of Gamaliel, they would simply have created a scandal. I still hold then that the writings of Philo are not admissible as authorities on the subject of this book.

E. S.

PARIS, *May*, 1885.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THIS volume consists of a series of studies on the social and religious life of the Jews in the first century, and is a continuation of the work published by me in 1876.¹ My object in offering it to the public is to facilitate the intelligent reading of the Gospels.

I am not acquainted with any French book which gives what the Germans call "*Die Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*," the contemporary history of the New Testament. This gap in our literature I have endeavoured to fill. It is unnecessary for me to insist on the deep interest of a study of the state of society in the midst of which Jesus was brought up. The first century of our era witnessed the accomplishment of the greatest fact in the history of the world. Christianity, the ultimate and universal religion, was born, and began to take the place of the national and transitory forms of worship which had previously prevailed. In a special sense it became the substitute for Judaism, the essentially national religion which gave it

¹ "Les idées religieuses en Palestine à l'époque de Jésus Christ." Paris: Fischbacher, 1878.

birth and, so to speak, perished in its birth-throes. The child cost the life of the mother. St. Paul in particular directed against the religion of his fathers mortal blows, from which it could not rally. It succumbed in the first century, but the Pharisees and doctors of the law succeeded in embalming its corpse. Thanks to their herculean labours, Judaism still subsists in the state of a mummy. The Talmudists embalmed it, and after eighteen centuries we have yet before our eyes the strange spectacle of this mummy of a religion. It is dead, like all other mummies, but it is marvellously preserved. It was in the time of Christ that the religious life of decaying Judaism began to take those forms which it has ever since retained. The Jewish nation has disappeared, but its nationality has survived the most terrible cataclysms. The Mosaic ritual has ceased, but the synagogue perpetuates its memory. The Pharisees are extinct, but the Jews of our day are their lineal descendants. This is a unique fact in the annals of mankind, and it makes us feel the truth of the words of the chaplain of Frederic II. The free-thinking king asked him to give him a proof in a single word of the hand of God in history. He replied: "Sire, the Jews."

E. S.

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INTRODUCTION.

ORIGINAL SOURCES FROM WHICH THIS BOOK IS TAKEN.

The New Testament.—The Synoptics.—Their Formation.—Their Veracity.—The Fourth Gospel.—The Epistles of St. Paul.—The Life of Josephus by Himself.—His Account of the War of 66-70.—Criticism of this Narrative.—“The Jewish War.”—“The Antiquities of the Jews.”—Passage Referring to Christ.—“Against Apion.”—Josephus’ Autobiography.—Josephus as a Historian.—The Formation of the Rabbinical Traditions.—When they were Reduced to Writing.—The Mishnah.—The Gemara.—That of the Jerusalem Talmud.—That of the Babylonian Talmud.—The Midrashim.

THE New Testament, the writings of Josephus, and the Talmud are, as our title indicates, the three authorities we have consulted in writing this book. They are, in fact, the only available sources. The pseudepigraphic writings composed in Palestine about the time of the Christian era, are only valuable as records of Jewish thought at that period. They throw no light on the social life of the nation, nor on its religious observances. We shall have occasion to speak of these singular writings in treating of Jewish literature in the first century, but they cannot be regarded as authorities on the subject of this volume. The details relating to the Jews that we gather from heathen writers are very insigni-

ficant. Among Greek authors, Polybius might be mentioned. The fragments of the last fifteen books of his Roman history give us some information about Judea. In the writings of Diodorus Siculus we find one passage upon Antiochus Epiphanes. Strabo gives some really valuable notes on the geography of Syria. Plutarch speaks of the Jews in connection with Crassus, Pompey, Cæsar, Brutus and Anthony. Lastly, Apion and Dion Cassius left extensive writings, some portions of which have come down to us. Among Latin writers, we find in the letters and discourses of Cicero some details of the history of Syria. Tacitus gives an account of the siege of Jerusalem in his "History of Rome," but of this work only a fragment has come down to us. Happily that fragment contains a summary of the history of the Jews up to the war of Titus. The "Annals," which give the history of Rome from the year 14 to 68, have fortunately been preserved, with the exception of one passage, and taken in connection with Suetonius' "Life of the Twelve Cæsars," they throw much light on the relations of the Jews with the Roman world in the first century. All this however amounts to very little, and we return to our assertion that the only adequate sources of information as to the history of the Jews in the time of Christ, are the three we have mentioned. First, the writings of the early Christians, formerly Jews who had lived in Palestine, and whose works were afterwards compiled under the name of the New Testament. Second, the writings of Flavius Josephus, the great Jewish historian, who in his different works gives a full and detailed description of the various phases of Jewish life and history in the first century. Third, the Talmud, a vast and crude compilation of rabbinical sentences, which will give to any one who takes the pains to study

them, a faithful picture of the manners and beliefs, and of the religious and social status of the contemporaries of Christ.

1. *The New Testament.* The writings of primitive Christians, who were witnesses of the life of Christ, apostles or companions of apostles, were early held in high esteem by the Christian Church. Oral tradition, powerful at first, soon became vague and doubtful. Christian communities were in the habit of reading the books of the apostles in public worship, and came to place them on a par with the sacred code of the Jews, known under the name of the Old Testament, and handed down to them by the Synagogue. Different names were given to this collection of Christian documents. Gradually the name of the New Testament came to be generally adopted. Each Church had its own collection, and they were not all the same. One Church would accept some books and reject others; other Churches might exactly reverse the selection. Most of them divided these Scriptures into two parts—those which were undisputed and universally received, and the disputed portions, which continued to be the subject of discussion more or less critical. At length, in the fourth century, the ultimate decision was reached. Certain disputed Scriptures were expunged from the sacred canon, and the rest were received as of unquestionable authority. The New Testament, as it at present stands, was formally added to the Old; and both have formed from that time what is called the Bible. The books composing the New Testament are therefore very various in their date and origin, and for more than a century now, all manner of critical questions have been raised as to their authenticity, integrity, historical accuracy, etc. They have been discussed and

resolved, then re-discussed and re-resolved, and the whole subject re-opened; and so it will be for a long time to come. We do not propose to give our readers a clue to this labyrinth, or to pronounce an opinion upon the delicate and important problems presented by the study of every book of the New Testament. We have only to estimate their value as history. May we rely on their testimony and on the information they give us of the times in which Christ lived, and of the Judaism of the first century in Palestine? This is the question before us, and we do not hesitate to answer, Yes. Let us briefly justify this opinion.

The New Testament presents to us, in the first place, three Scriptures called the synoptical Gospels, because they almost uniformly narrate the same events. The most superficial examination suggests that they have a common origin. They all form, in fact, but one synoptic document. Whether they were preceded or not by other Gospels now lost, these were certainly written after the year 60 and before the year 80 A.D. We place the Gospel of Mark first, Matthew second, Luke third; and if it is necessary to fix precise dates, we should say, the Gospel of Mark was written about the year 65, the present Greek version of the Gospel of Matthew a little before the year 70, and the Gospel of Luke a little later.

The anonymous character of these scriptures, the simplicity and naïveté with which the authors write their narratives, giving the facts without much order or carefulness, and grouping them without any logical sequence,¹ show that we have to do with chroniclers who are simply putting together what has been handed down to them by tradition. The first three Gospels give

¹ We are alluding specially to Matthew and Mark.

us accounts which must have been long preserved by oral tradition, and which the evangelists have inserted in their writings just as they were told in their time. They abound in details which are strikingly exact as describing the Pharisees, the Sadducees and the scribes. They bring before our very eyes the doctors and rabbis eagerly disputing; they give us the true aspect of the Messianic beliefs, and an exact notion of the customs of the first century. Incidents of common daily life are constantly alluded to, especially in the parables of Christ, which are always taken from objects familiar to his hearers. The words which the evangelists put into the mouths of the various personages, the homely details incidentally mentioned, the passing allusions to the customs, doctrines and religious life of the first century, all bear the stamp of veracity and historic truth. The evangelists never assume to be critics; they are simple, artless, and consequently faithful chroniclers.

The Book of the Acts, which is a continuation of the Gospel of St. Luke, bears evidence of a more critical spirit. Its author, who had made some attempt at classification and selection even in his Gospel, here shows very decided preferences. There can be no doubt that his aim was to reconcile the two great tendencies which divided the primitive Church between them—the Judeo-Christian and the Pagano-Christian. But the discussion of this problem, which is full of interest for the critical student of the Acts, would be irrelevant here. We shall have to draw very little upon that book. Suffice it to say that, as a whole, it presents to us a faithful picture of the Jewish and Roman world in the first century. We shall not require to quote either from the Catholic Epistles or the Revelation. These books,

excepting perhaps the Epistle of James, were written under the influence of ideas foreign to the Judaism of the time of Christ.

There remain the Epistles of Paul and the fourth Gospel. The Epistles of Paul are of vital importance to us as the writings of one who was once a Pharisee, a man who spent his youth in Jerusalem, who lived there at the same time as Jesus, but in a world wholly different from His, the official world of the scribes and doctors of the law. He there adopted their habits of language and of reasoning; he was trained to argue after their methods, he became intimately acquainted with their doctrines, and himself both believed and practised them. In the Epistles of Paul we shall find therefore an inexhaustible mine of information as to the religious life of the Jews who were the contemporaries of Christ.

The fourth Gospel is of a wholly different character. Written at the close of the first century, it presents a curious mixture of that which is certainly historical, of details belonging unquestionably to the life of Jesus, and of parts which are more difficult to accept, of details in which the personality of the writer seems almost to fill the page. Hence this book is perhaps the most extraordinary ever written. It is as difficult to deny its genuineness as to admit its full historic accuracy. It is, and will remain, the *crux* of theologians, to use a time-honoured phrase. We believe that it rightly bears the name of the Apostle John, whether he was its compiler, or whether it was written by his immediate disciples and under his special direction; but, unlike the synoptics, its authenticity seems to us more self-evident than its historic accuracy. In the case of the synoptics, the historical truth is unquestionable, and the name of the writer matters little. In the case of the fourth Gospel,

the name of the writer matters much ; but that being ascertained, there remains the problem of his personal part in the composition of the book—a question almost hopeless of solution. We shall therefore only refer cautiously to the Gospel of John, but at the same time with full confidence, for we cannot forget that it was Jesus who created the personality of John, not John who originated that of Jesus. We shall always verify the statements of the fourth Gospel by those of the synoptics, but we shall find them in themselves of great value, for they give us details as to the environment in which Jesus lived, the truthfulness of which seems to us self-evident.

2. *The Writings of Josephus.* Flavius Josephus was born in Jerusalem in the first year of the reign of Caligula, which began March 16th, 37 A.D. We know also that when he finished his work, entitled: "Antiquities of the Jews," he was in his fifty-sixth year, and that Domitian was in the thirteenth year of his reign. Now his reign began on the 13th of September, 93 ; Josephus was born then after the 13th of September, 37, and before the 16th of March, 38. All that we know of his life is from his "Autobiography," and the scattered hints in his "History of the Jewish War." Let us first quote the testimony he bears to himself. He tells us that he came of priestly race, and of a family which was highly esteemed. One of his maternal ancestors was the daughter of Jonathan—the first Maccabean high priest.¹ At fourteen years of age, he says, he was so completely master of rabbinical science, that the priests and the principal personages of the city came to ask him questions and to be instructed by him. He afterwards says, that at sixteen

¹ "Vita," § 1 ; "B. J.," Preface, § 1.

years of age he was thoroughly versed in the doctrines of the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. He had devoted himself to these studies that he might be able from his own knowledge to decide which of the three schools would suit him best. But before deciding, he retired into the desert to one Banus, who gave him the final consecration. "Banus lived in the desert, and used no other clothing than grew upon trees, and had no other food than what grew of its own accord, and bathed himself in cold water frequently, both by night and day, in order to preserve his chastity."¹ Josephus lived with Banus three years, and then decided for the sect of the Pharisees. He was at that time nineteen years of age. At twenty-six (64 A.D.) he went to Rome. He was then an advocate, and was entrusted with an important mission with reference to some Jews whom Felix had, on a very slight pretext, put into bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Cæsar. A Jewish actor of his acquaintance recommended him to the Empress Poppea, and through her intervention he gained the cause of his clients. On his return to Judea (66) he took an active part in the political intrigues which were soon to lead to a general uprising of the people against Rome. The Sadducees were averse to the war. "What use," they said, "is there in an unequal context? Why run to certain ruin?" The Pharisees, on the other hand, were for resistance; but they were divided into two camps. On the one hand were the extreme ultra-fanatical party, which preached resistance to the death, and did not shrink from murder. Among these were hot-headed sicarii, who poignarded every transgressor of the law. On the other hand were the moderate Pharisees, who urged counsels of prudence.

¹ "Vita," § 2.

Josephus belonged to this number. At first he had even opposed the war. In his journey to Rome he had seen what tremendous resources the Romans had at command. But when he found that the insurrection was inevitable, he asked for a command, and was entrusted with the organisation and direction of the uprising in Galilee. This was a post of extreme difficulty. Galilee was not dependable. Its population was largely composed of pagan elements, and moreover it would be the first province to receive the shock of the enemy. Why was such a mission entrusted to Josephus? Was it the moderate party which succeeded in getting him appointed? Or was it rather that the fanatics were not willing to go so far away from Jerusalem?¹ From this time the history of Josephus is identified with that of the Jewish War. The account which he gives of the acts of his government in Galilee,² is sadly wanting in clearness. He speaks of the large forces which he collected, and at the same time says that Galilee was so little disposed to fight, that he had to coerce into submission to his authority towns in which there was not a single Roman. When Vespasian arrived, the whole province submitted. The fortresses opened their gates one after another, with the exception of Jotapata, whither Josephus had retired with his last troops. The account which he gives of the siege of this fortress is very interesting, and well written.³ He wished to capitulate. His troops compelled him to remain; and when at last they were obliged to yield, he contrived to conceal himself with his officers in a sort of pit, the entrance to which was almost impracticable, and where he eluded for some

¹ "B. J.," II. 20, § 4; "Vita," § 7.

² "Vita," § 7-71. ³ "B. J.," III. 6.

time the fury of the Romans. But he was betrayed, and Vespasian sent an order to him to surrender. His companions urged him to remain, and decided that they would kill one another, casting lots who should die first. It chanced that Josephus was left alone with one soldier, whom he persuaded to give himself up to the conqueror, and they came up together out of the pit, in the midst of the angry roar of the legions. Josephus, being brought before Vespasian, immediately and unhesitatingly prophesied that the successors of Nero would reign but a very little time, and that the empire would shortly come to him. Vespasian, in return, spared his life, and even treated him with consideration. When Vespasian was afterwards made emperor by his legions, he remembered the prophecy of his prisoner, and gave him his liberty.¹ On his enfranchisement, Josephus, in gratitude, took the family name of Vespasian, *Flavius*; and from that day he remained attached to the imperial house. During the siege of Jerusalem, the Romans employed him often to go with the flag of truce. It need scarcely be said that the besieged reproached him with his defection, and accused him of having betrayed their cause. Many times stones were thrown at him from the top of walls. His father, Mathias, and his brother, who had remained in the city, were massacred by the people as suspicious characters. After the taking of Jerusalem, Josephus had the happiness of saving some of his friends from the agony of crucifixion.

We know scarcely anything of the close of his life. He lived in Rome, under the protection of Domitian, and still more in favour with the Empress Domitia.² He was indeed a great favourite with the three Flavian emperors—Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. The date

¹ "B. J.," IV. 10, § 7.

² "Vita," § 76.

of his death is unknown. He was still living in the early years of the second century, for he wrote his autobiography after the death of Agrippa, and that prince died in the third year of Trajan, 100 A.D. Eusebius¹ says that a statue was put up to Josephus in Rome. He was three times married. During his captivity at Cæsarea, he married a Jewess, whom he put away to marry again at Alexandria, whither he had accompanied Vespasian. He had a son by this second marriage. He was once more divorced to marry a young Cretan Jewess, by whom he had several children.

We have given this summary of the life of Josephus on his own testimony. It is difficult to criticise the narrative, for we have no means whatever of checking it. But as we read it we have a natural feeling of distrust. The author speaks too much of himself in his writings; we feel that he is at once light and vain. Certain details of his narrative also cannot be accepted. Those who know what rabbinical science was at this time, will never believe that he was capable at fourteen years of age, of giving instruction to the lawyers of his day. His claim to have thoroughly studied the various religious schools of the age, and to have been himself a zealous Pharisee, cannot be sustained. He gives us, in his history, altogether wrong notions of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. The parallel which he draws between their doctrines and the philosophies of Greece has no solid foundation; and when he passes over in silence the political passions of the Pharisees, and compares Pharisaism to Stoicism, he is guilty of errors all the more unpardonable because intentional. He falsifies history in his own interest and in the interest of his

¹ "H. E.," 3, § 9.

people, for it was absolutely necessary for him to stand well with the Romans.

Nor is this all. In speaking of himself in his history, Josephus always takes the tone of one who has been accused and is defending himself. We feel that grave charges had been brought against him by his countrymen, and that he is trying to justify his conduct. And we know that this was so. Justus of Tiberias also wrote a history of the Jewish war, and in it he charges Josephus with treason to his country. Josephus was aiming at Justus throughout his autobiography. The whole history of the siege of Jotapata, with the prediction with which it closes, has a very pronounced legendary character. When Josephus dwells on his conduct in Galilee, and on the part he played in that province, there can be no doubt that he does so because public opinion was unfavourable to him and he wished to vindicate himself. Josephus appears to us, throughout this narrative, like a man full of self-confidence, who in the hour of defeat had not the same moral force as the mass of his mistaken but enthusiastic fellow-countrymen. When he afterwards wrote the history of the war, he had no feeling of the grandeur of the struggle he was describing. He went so far as coldly to renounce the hope of Messiah, applying the words of sacred prophecy to Vespasian, and yet he pretended to know the Pharisees thoroughly, nay himself to be a Pharisee! He had not the gift of describing events in their true aspect, though he could manipulate them very skilfully for his own ends. He wished to make the Romans recognise the historic greatness of his people. His nation was hated, and he tried by his writings to exalt it in the eyes of its detractors, without renouncing the Mosaic creed or openly setting aside received traditions. He

himself professed a sufficiently inoffensive rationalistic philosophy—a combination of deism and natural morality.

Some works of Josephus have come down to us: 1st, *Περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαικοῦ πολέμου*, "The Jewish War;" or, "De Bello Judaico."¹ He divided this work into seven books. The actual history of the war is preceded by an introduction which embraces the whole of the first book and half of the second, and narrates the events that took place between the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 B.C.) and the declaration of war (66 A.D.). The close of the second book contains the history of the first year of the war. Josephus here shows himself but an indifferent historian; he does not assign any of the true causes of the rising of the Jews. He says nothing either of the various party influences at work, nor of the policy adopted by the Romans. He confines himself to the task of a mere chronicler, simply narrating facts.

From the third book to the seventh, it is the eyewitness who speaks, and the story becomes truly pathetic. The third book treats of the insurrection in Galilee (67 A.D.). The fourth, fifth, and sixth books give other incidents connected with the war and the siege of Jerusalem. Lastly, the seventh book relates the closing events up to the final defeat of the insurgents. Josephus wrote this work first in Aramaic, but afterwards himself translated it into Greek. In its compilation, he drew mainly on his own personal recollections. He seems to have been particularly well informed about the siege of Jerusalem. He tells us that he took notes during the operations, and that he received from deserters frequent reports of what was passing in the city.² Vespasian and

¹ "Vita," § 74.

² "Contr. Ap.," I. § 9.

Titus, to whom he presented his work, acknowledged (he tells us) the perfect accuracy of the account. It dates probably from the close of the reign of Vespasian.¹

2nd, *Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία*, "The Ancient History of the Jews;" or "Jewish Antiquities." This treats in twenty books of the history of the Jewish people, from its origin to the declaration of war with Rome (66 A.D.). The first ten books repeat the facts narrated in the Old Testament, and bring us down to the captivity in Babylon. The eleventh book relates the events that took place from the reign of Cyrus to that of Alexander the Great. The twelfth book closes with the death of Judas Maccabeus (160 B.C.). The thirteenth with the death of Alexandra (67 B.C.). The fourteenth with the commencement of the reign of Herod the Great (37 B.C.). The reign of this prince, who died 4 B.C., is described in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth books. Lastly the three closing books narrate what took place from the death of Herod to the year 66 A.D., the date of the declaration of war. For the early books of his history, as far as Nehemiah, Josephus had no other authorities at his disposal than the Old Testament, the contents of which he abridges or enlarges. His additions he must have derived from rabbinical tradition.² He gives a very incomplete and inadequate account of the period between Nehemiah and Antiochus Epiphanes (440-175 B.C.), which is the more to be regretted as he is the only historian of this period we have. He seems, however, to have had no idea of its exceptional importance and of the new developments which Judaism assumed at this time. He says nothing either of the

¹ "Contr. Ap.," I. § 9; "Vita," § 65.

² See Hartmann, "Die enge Verbindung des alten Testaments mit den neuen." 1831, pp. 464-514.

origin of the Synagogue, nor of Pharisaism, Sadduceeism and Essenism. For the history of the Asamoneans he has made use of the First Book of the Maccabees, Polybius, Strabo, and Nicolaus of Damascus. He appears to have been very well informed as to the reign of Herod the Great, but to have known but little of his successors, with the exception of the two Agrippas. These belonged to contemporary history, and he could interrogate the witnesses of and actors in the scenes he described. Josephus wrote his work on "Jewish Antiquities" at the request of one Epaphroditus, whose client he was.¹ This man, who did not know Hebrew, and did not understand the Septuagint well, asked Josephus to write a history of his people for the use of Greco-Romans. The proposal was hailed with delight. This great work was therefore not intended by the writer for his fellow-countrymen, but for Gentiles. He was anxious to exalt the Jews in their eyes. It had been said that the Jews had no history, no heroes, and he was going to prove the contrary, to show the high antiquity of his people, to unveil its past, and to fling back the scorn cast upon it.²

While narrating the history of the Jews, Josephus always kept in view his personal apology, and replied to the attacks of Justus of Tiberias. It must be said to his honour that he made no attempt to injure his rival—a thing he might easily have done, for he was well looked upon at court. He only essayed to defend himself by his pen, and in this he was not very successful, for he contented himself with appealing to the official approval of his conduct by Titus and Agrippa. The work "Jewish Antiquities," was written

¹ "Vita," § 76; "Contr. Ap.," II. § 42.

² "Ant. Jud.," XVI. 6, § 8.

at several different times.¹ It was finished in the thirteenth year of Domitian (93-94 A.D.).

3rd "The Life of Flavius Josephus" ("Vita"). This work is not, as might be imagined from its title, an account of the life of Josephus, but an apology for his conduct in Galilee (66-67 A.D.), when he was commanding the Jewish forces during the insurrection (§ 7-74). Paragraphs 1-6 and 75, 76, add to this apology, a few biographical details serving as an introduction and conclusion. It was as a further reply to Justus of Tiberias, who, in his writings, had presented the facts in an aspect unfavourable to Josephus, that the latter added these pages towards the close of his life.

4th. "Against Apion," or "Antiquity of the Jews," is a work in two books, written in reply to the attacks of Apion, a learned Egyptian, who fifty years before had contested, not without considerable learning, the antiquity of the Jewish religion, apart from which it could have no authority or *prestige* in the eyes of a Greek. This book of Apion's had been much read during the reign of Tiberius, and was still famous. Josephus replies to it by a course of special pleading which has no historic value. He tries to clear the Jews from all the rumours circulating to their disadvantage.² This work was written after the year 93.

Besides these four works, we often find in the editions of Josephus, the Fourth Book of the Maccabees, entitled also "Of the Empire of Reason." The Fathers of the Church attributed the compilation of this work to Josephus.³ Modern critics seem almost agreed however that it is not by him. M. Reuss, will not give

¹ Preface, § 2.

² "Contr. Ap.," I. § 10.

³ Eusebius, "H. E.," 3, 10; Jerome, "Catal. script. eccles."

an opinion, considering that the authorship of Josephus is at least not adequately disproved.¹

One important work of Josephus has been lost. He alludes to it repeatedly in the "Jewish Antiquities," saying: *καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν.*² The quotations which he makes from this last work all have reference to the history of the Seleucidæ.

In olden times and in the Church of the Middle Ages, Josephus enjoyed a reputation such as few historians have attained. Repudiated by the Jews, and ignored by the Talmudists, he was adopted by the Christians as one of themselves. His writings seemed to them the complement of sacred history and a confirmation of its truth. Moreover, his version of the Old Testament was easier reading than the Old Testament itself. He had no didactic passages, no abstract reflections, and confined himself to narrating the facts and painting them in vivid colours. His history of the Herods was an excellent commentary on the Gospels, and his account of the siege of Jerusalem was long one of the bases of Christian apologetics, Christ having foretold in His eschatological discourse, the very events there narrated. Lastly, he spoke of John the Baptist,³ of Jesus Christ,⁴ of St. James.⁵ His works thus formed a sort of supplement to the Bible, and they acquired immense popularity.

Christian editions of them were prepared, and appeared in very early times, for the passage in Josephus about Jesus Christ has only come down to us with Christian interpolations; possibly indeed it may have been entirely composed by the Christians. This passage

¹ "Revue de théologie de Strasbourg," 1859, p. 270.

² "Ant. Jud.," XIII. 2, § 1, 4. ³ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 5, § 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 3, § 3. ⁵ *Ibid.*, XX. 9, § 1.

in which Jesus Christ is expressly designated as the Christ foretold by the prophets, was made use of during many centuries to sustain the Christian apology.

It runs as follows: "Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call Him a man, for He was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to Him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was (the) Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned Him to the cross, those that loved Him at the first did not forsake Him; for He appeared to them alive again the third day; as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning Him. And the tribe of Christians so named from Him, are not extinct at this day."¹

The genuineness of this passage was however, after a time, called in question, and in the seventeenth century it was finally abandoned. It is easy to understand that the Fathers of the Church hailed with enthusiasm a Jewish historian who supplied them with such convenient weapons for the conversion of both Jews and Gentiles. Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, extolled him to the skies. Jerome calls him the Greek Titus Livius. His fame was so great in the Middle Ages that a reaction was sure to come, and in modern times Josephus has been too much depreciated. As a man he is certainly not interesting. Vain and pretentious, he makes the mistake of taking himself seriously for a great writer. If he was not absolutely a traitor to his country, since he seeks to clear himself from the

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 3, § 3.

aspersions cast upon him by the Jews, he nevertheless courted the favour of the Romans, and particularly of the Emperors who had destroyed his nation.

As a writer, it would be unfair to compare him with the great classic authors, but among the historians of his own time, he holds an honourable place. If his style is artificial and his rhetoric offensive, these are faults for which his age was more to blame than himself. When his authorities are good, he knows how to use them; he even shows himself an intelligent critic.¹ The gravest accusation brought against him is that of having falsified history in his own interest. He pretends, for example, that his people's hatred to the Romans was only the crime of a few fanatics, when he knows perfectly well that the whole nation was full of bitter animosity to the foreigner. Again, the vain desire to cloak the political passions of his countrymen, and the attempt to show that in Judea as in Greece, there were Stoic and Epicurean schools of philosophy, made him misrepresent the real character of the religious parties in Palestine. It may be safely said, however, that as a whole his narrative is exact, or he would not have dared to appeal for its corroboration to Vespasian, Titus and Agrippa. When he died, he was preparing a great work on God in His essential nature, and on the law of Moses.²

3. *The Talmuds*.—After the restoration under Ezra and Nehemiah, when the whole people had become faithful, the law was regularly read in the synagogues. Colleges were formed of doctors specially versed in the study of the sacred text, and in its interpretation.

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XIV. 1, § 3; XV. 6, § 3; XVI. 7, § 1; XIX. 1 § 10, 14.

² "Ant. Jud.," I. 1, § 1; I. 10, § 5; III. 5, § 6.

These doctors of the law, who were also scribes,¹ were consulted in difficult cases. They spoke in the synagogues, giving a commentary at once instructive and edifying on the reading. They soon acquired great influence. Their most remarkable sayings were treasured up by their disciples. They were quoted, passed from mouth to mouth, and thus handed down. By degrees these words, spoken by venerated teachers, acquired considerable religious authority. Some of these teachings of the scribes came to be regarded as almost indispensable to any one who wished to observe the law faithfully. Take, for example, the commandment forbidding all work on the Sabbath day. This rule, at once so vague and so absolute, needed a commentary. Undoubtedly certain work was allowable. People might rise and dress themselves, might eat and drink on this day. They might walk, since it was a duty to go to the synagogue. It was needful, therefore, to explain clearly what was and what was not forbidden. This the scribes did. They discovered thirty-nine triads of forbidden occupations.²

This important commentary had of course to be made known to all. It formed, with other similar glosses on other parts of the law, a sort of second law, supplementing and defining the first, surrounding it that is with a hedge of precepts, which guarded it and aided its observance.³ When a sufficient number of generations of doctors had passed, the sayings of some of them were said to be as old as the time of Moses. It was not the

¹ We shall treat in detail of the origin of the scribes and of their functions, Book ii. ch. iii.

² See Book II. ch. vii. the Sabbath.

³ It is the *παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* spoken of in Matt. xv. 2 ; Mark vii. 3.

doctors, it was said, who had originated these words, they had only handed them down. Moses himself was their author. In reality there had been no scribes before Ezra. There was not one of these oral traditions as to the mode of applying the law which went back even as far as the exile. All dated at the very earliest from the restoration, and most of them were of much later date still. But in order to give the oral law as much weight as the written law, it was necessary to attribute it to Moses himself. It was therefore argued that besides his written law, Moses had given an oral law, no less important, and designed to supplement and explain the former. This oral law, delivered by Moses to the seventy elders, and by them transmitted to the members of "the Great Synagogue,"¹ had come down from generation to generation to the schools of the doctors of the law, which flourished in the first century. Hillel, the most remarkable of these doctors, was the first who thought of writing down these oral traditions. Foreseeing, perhaps, catastrophes to the nation, in which the oral tradition might easily be lost, he deemed it prudent to embody it in writing. It is certain that from his time a collection of the principal traditions, grouped under their separate heads, was drawn up at Jerusalem. We do not know what became of this text, whether it formed some part of the collection that has come down to us, and which is of much later date. If Hillel endeavoured to reduce the floating traditions of his time to some sort of order, it was Rabbi 'Akibah, at the beginning of the second century, who attempted to classify the oral traditions, and to arrange them according to subjects. This

¹ "Pirke Aboth," I, 1. See Book II. ch. ii. Hillel and Shammai, and ch. iii. Doctors of the Law.

written code was called the Mishnah. It also was lost; and what we have is only the Mishnah of Rabbi Yehudah Hannasi, compiled about the end of the¹ second century, but this is taken directly from that of 'Akibah. At this time the Jewish doctors did nothing but repeat the words of their predecessors; they had lost all originality. The word Mishnah has been translated by Epiphanius, *δευτέρωσις*,² "repetition" of the law. It might perhaps better be described as a "reproduction of words known by heart," or "oral lessons." The Mishnah is divided into six parts (*seder sedarim*); this is Hillel's division retained. The six parts together form sixty-three tracts; each tract is divided into chapters, and each chapter into verses. This Mishnah, which was a high authority before it was set down in writing, became still more revered in the written form. For the majority of Jews, it took the place of the law. The sacred book was supplanted by the commentary. This commentary, this Mishnah, which had become the law, replacing the Torah, which it explained, was itself explained in its turn; and the doctors, after having read the Mishnah to their disciples, did not fail to give them an interminable commentary on the reading. This commentary was not original. As we have said, from the time of 'Akibah there were no original precepts in Israel. It was derived in part from the still floating oral tradition. The doctors told how such and such a great rabbi of the past had interpreted a certain passage of the Mishnah, and thus a third law grew up. This third law was formulated at the same time in two different places, in the two great centres of Jewish life in the

¹ Epiph., "Hær.," XV. 33, 9; Talm. Babyl., "Horayoth," 13 b.

² Epiph., "Hær.," XV. 33, 9.

early ages—Sura in Babylon, and Tiberias in Palestine. The Mishnah had in fact been carried to Sura by Abba Arēcā surnamed Rab, a disciple of Rabbi Yehudah Hannasi. These new commentaries were in their turn reduced to writing, and were called the Gemara. There were two of these: that which was called the Gemara of Babylon, drawn up at Sura, and the Gemara of Jerusalem, prepared at Tiberias. In ordinary speech instead of the word Gemara, the word Talmud is used (from the verb *Lamad*, to learn), meaning science, discipline, doctrine *par excellence*. There are then two Talmuds, the Talmud of Babylon and that of Jerusalem, and both are the complement and commentary of the Mishnah. The Mishnah does not form part of the Talmuds. It only called them forth. It was the text of the Talmudic dissertations, just as the law of Moses was the text on which the Mishnah was based.

Both in the Mishnah and the Talmuds, two lines of thought are to be traced. There are the purely juridical portions—those which refer exclusively to the law, and those which are designed to edify the reader, to nourish his soul and do him good. All which relates exclusively to the study of the law is called *Halaka* (rule of conduct); this is the legal element of the tradition, the strict development of the text on which it is based, that is to say of the Torah for the Mishnah, and of the Mishnah for the Talmuds. The broader and more popular parts, which are for general edification, are called *Agada* (narrative, from the verb *agid*, to express oneself.) The first sort of exegesis, the *halaka*, was dear to the school of Shammai; the second, the *agada*, was preferred by the disciples of Hillel. The teaching of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount, and in the parables, and some parts of the Epistles of St. Paul, resemble the *agada*.

The Mishnah was written in Hebrew. The titles of the six books composing it are as follows :—

1. *Of Seedtime.* This treats of the laws of agriculture, of benedictions or prayers, of tithes due to the priests, the Levites, the poor ; of the Sabbatic year, of the forbidden intermixtures of plants, animals, and garments.

2. *Of the Feasts.* This treats of the ceremonies to be performed at certain festivals, and of the work forbidden at such times.

3. *Of Women.* This treats of marriage, the family, divorce, etc.

4. *Of Penalties.* This treats of civil and criminal legislation, of idolatry, of the Sanhedrim, the supreme tribunal ; and closes with the famous tract of the Fathers, a collection of ancient rabbinical maxims.

5. *Of holy things*, viz. the sacrifices offered in the Temple, with a description of the Temple.

6. *Of Purifications.* The laws relating to purity.

This mere outline will suffice to show the capital importance of the Mishnah to the work before us. It may be said that it is an inexhaustible source of information of the most ample and circumstantial kind, as to the life of the Jews in the first century. It dates from the time of Christ ; for though it was not collated till long after His time, it is a true and faithful epitome of the thoughts and sayings of His contemporaries. Indeed, we believe that the traditions on which it is based date from at least two centuries earlier than the Christian era.

The Talmud or Gemara of Babylon contains, as we have said, the discussion in the schools of Babylon, and particularly in that of Sura. Commenced by Ashē, and continued by his son Mar and his disciple Merēmor, it was not completed till the year 550. It is an enormous repertory, which, translated and printed, would fill not

less than sixty octavo volumes; and yet the style is concise to obscurity. It is written in Aramaic. We shall make a few extracts from it, but not many, for it reproduces but very imperfectly the features of Judaism in Palestine. The Jerusalem Talmud, on the contrary, also written in Aramaic and compiled at Tiberias, we shall find a valuable help. It was written about 350, and is therefore older than the other. It is also shorter, for the matter contained in it would not make more than twelve octavo volumes.

In ordinary parlance, the Mishnah is included in the Talmuds, and on our title-page we have adopted this style. The expression, the Talmuds, includes, as we use it, the Mishnah, which is the text, and the Gemara, which is the commentary. This is, however, an inaccurate mode of speech, as we have explained. The Talmuds, strictly speaking, are the Gemara only; the Mishnah is really the principal rabbinical authority for what we have written. It is short, easy of access, and has the advantage of reproducing exactly a time closely bordering on the first century, if not the first century itself. The Gemara are much longer and the study of them is a wearisome task. They are very badly arranged, or rather there is no arrangement at all. They give us pell mell, in inextricable confusion, the discussions of the rabbis. In their interminable pages there is neither style, order nor talent. The language is as poor as the thought, the form as the substance. The one is barbarous, the other unintelligible. It is a heap of rubbish, and yet it must be waded through for the sake of a precious pearl here and there. These pearls are scarce but beautiful, and it is worth while to search for them when we know that the task before us is the reconstruction of a vanished world,

of the state of society in the midst of which Jesus lived and spoke.

But how striking the contrast between the Gospel and the Talmuds! To think that these two books were both produced in Palestine at about the same period, is utterly bewildering to the imagination. We are told sometimes that Christianity is the natural outcome of the Judaism of the day; that most of the Gospel maxims had been spoken before the Christian era, and that "the noble and gentle Hillel was the elder brother of Jesus." There is absolutely no confirmation in history of such statements. The best treatise of the Mishnah, the "Pirke Aboth," is separated by a deep gulf from the precepts of Gospel morality. We have studied the Judaism of the time of Christ with the fullest sympathy, anxious to find that it approached more nearly than is generally supposed, to the New Testament, and to discover among its followers the precursors of Christ. We were even prepared beforehand to find it so. We have spoken elsewhere¹ of "liberals," who came before Christ and prepared the way for a reformation. But we here avow that a more careful study of the Judaism of the first century has modified our views on this point. The way of the Gospel was prepared by the Old Testament and by the prophets, but not in any degree by the rabbis and by the schools of the scribes. Hillel was never a liberal in the true sense of the word. He remained all his life a casuist like the rest, and we must abandon the pleasant fiction of his liberalism. The Talmuds which we have studied with the desire to find in them something great and true, a less stifling atmosphere, a little life and air that the soul could breathe—

¹ "Les idées religieuses en Palestine à l'époque de Jésus Christ." Chap. xii., Les libéraux.

the Talmuds are, we repeat, the most incomprehensible jumbles, the most wearisome and absurd reading that could be conceived. We are not afraid of having this verdict challenged by any one, except of course by modern Israelites, who bring their own strong prepossessions to bear on the question. The Gospel was a shining light, breaking out suddenly in the midst of the darkness. It was directly opposed to the thoughts and opinions of the age. So far from being prepared by its environment, it was itself a startling and complete reaction against it. The contrast is absolute between the teaching of Jesus and that of the scribes. Jesus was the gift of God to men. He came from God, and God "delivered Him up" for men. This is the impartial, scientific, unbiassed result of studies to which we have devoted long and careful attention, and we bless God for having put it into our hearts to undertake a work which has so built up our own faith.¹

¹ Beside the Talmuds, we shall make use of some works which contain the tradition of the rabbis. These are called *Midrashim* (plural of *Midrash*, interpretation, *commentary*. The verb *darash* signifies, to tread under foot; figuratively, to scrutinise, to study). The *Midrashim* are Scripture commentaries. The oldest are of the same date as the *Mishnah*. They are the tract *Mechilta*, on a part of Exodus; the tract *Lifra*, on Leviticus: the tract *Sifre* or *Sifri*, on Numbers and Deuteronomy.

The frequent quotations made from these works in the Talmuds prove their antiquity. They date at least from the age of 'Akibah (the beginning of the second century).

Lastly, we shall have occasion to quote some historical treatises. The *Megillah Ta'anith* (Book of the Fast); and the *Seder olam*, or *Sede lam rabba*, an explanation of Bible history from Adam to Alexander the Great, with some notes on the period following the death of Alexander.

BOOK I.
SOCIAL LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE GOSPELS.

Palestine.—Its Extent and Boundaries.—Galilee.—The Number of its Population.—Nazareth.—Nain.—Tiberias.—Capernaum.—The Lake of Tiberias.—Perea.—Macherus.—Decapolis.—Cæsarea Philippi.—Bethsaida Julias.—Samaria.—Sichem.—Jacob's Well.

PALESTINE.

THE most ancient name of Palestine (in Hebrew *Pelēsheth*)¹ is Canaan.

The original inhabitants claimed, indeed, to be descended from Canaan, the son of Ham. When the Hebrews took possession of their land they disappeared, and their conquerors called their new country the land of the Hebrews, or the land of Israel. After the exile it received the name of the land of Judah, just as the name Israelites was then changed to Jews. The new nationality was in fact almost entirely composed of the remnants of the tribe of Judah. Thus the Romans always said Judea, the province of Judea, intending, by this name, to designate the whole of Palestine, while in reality they only designated one part—the southern province. The prophet Zechariah once calls Palestine

¹ This word designated at first the country inhabited by the Philistines, and would be exactly translated *Philistia*.

the Holy Land ; and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews calls it the Land of Promise.¹ In the Talmuds it is spoken of as the Land of Israel, or simply the Land.²

The boundaries of Palestine have often varied in the course of history. The ancient land of Canaan occupied only a very limited area. The Jordan bounded it on the east, the sea on the west ; its southern frontier stretched from Sodom and Gomorrah as far as Gaza ; its northern boundary was from Mount Hermon to Sidon. David and Solomon reigned over a much wider kingdom, with which we have not now to do.

The Talmuds give no sufficient data for fixing the boundaries of Palestine in the time of Christ. The indications which we find here and there in these great repertories are vague, confused and often contradictory. Approximately the boundaries were these : the province of Idumea on the south, its frontier being an imaginary line extending from the south of the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean on the west, with the exception of a strip of land to the north, which formed Phenicia, with Tyre and Sidon, and which was not dependent on Jerusalem. On the north the mountains of Lebanon and the province of Abilene (Syria). On the east the province of Perea, which was beyond Jordan, and merged gradually into the desert. We cannot give any more definite outlines. Frontiers like these, which are simply religious, are naturally always vague and indistinct. Jerusalem, the religious centre of Palestine, was almost exclusively inhabited by Jews. Outside the city there was an admixture of pagan population, and the greater the distance from the Holy City the more the pagan element predominated. Where the

¹ Heb. xi. 19.

² Babyl., "Gittin," fol. 8.

population became entirely pagan, and the Jewish element disappeared altogether, it ceased to be Palestine.

The political boundary lines were of course more definite, and they were also broader than the religious. Idumea, for example, on the south, or Abilene on the north, might form part of the tetrarchies of the Herods, and so belong to Palestine, and yet they might not have a single Jew among their population.

The Talmuds give a very exaggerated estimate of the extent of Palestine. They suppose it to cover 2,250,000 Roman square miles, an altogether hypothetical figure invented by the rabbis to magnify their country.¹

St. Jerome² reckoned 160 Roman miles from north to south of Palestine, or about 140 English miles. The breadth of the country was much less, and if we do not include Perea, we find the average breadth to be under forty miles, while at the latitude of the Litany there were only twenty miles between the Jordan and the sea. On this point St. Jerome supplies no figures. After giving the length of the country from north to south, he refuses, in the following terms, to give the breadth: "*Pudet dicere latitudinem terræ repromissionis ne ethnicis occasionem blasphemandi dedisse videamur.*" In a word, Palestine was about the size of Switzerland.

During the public life of Christ we note three great divisions: (1) Judea and Samaria with some frontier towns, governed by a Roman procurator. (2) Galilee and Perea, belonging to the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas. (3) Batanea, Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Iturea, and Auranitis, which were under his brother, the tetrarch Philip. The last-named small principalities were quite insignificant, and nothing need be said of them here. They were situated to the north-east of the lake of Tiberias in

¹ Babyl., "Sotah," 49 b.

² "Letter to Dardanus," 129.

a region which Christ never visited. We shall give some details, however, of the other provinces, which are frequently mentioned in the New Testament. Their geographical position is easily understood. The three provinces of Judea, Samaria and Galilee, lay one above the other between the Jordan and the sea—Judea on the south, Samaria in the centre, Galilee to the north. Perea comprehended the whole territory beyond Jordan, south of the tetrarchy of Philip.

GALILEE.

The name Galilee is derived from the Hebrew words *Gelil haggoyim* (the circle of the Gentiles), by which it was often designated because of its mixed population, in which there was a very large Gentile element. This small district was certainly, in the first century, an enchanting corner of the earth. The description given of it by Josephus suggests all that is delightful—a genial climate, great natural beauty, and a soil of inexhaustible richness. Here were green pastures shadowed with splendid trees, there wooded hills sloping down to the lake.¹ The lake itself was a scene of incessant fishing activity, and its shores were clothed with the most varied vegetation, exhibiting on the southern side the extraordinary combination of the walnut and the palm tree growing side by side; the olive, the vine and the fig tree also flourishing and bearing fruit abundantly.²

“The land of Naphtali is everywhere covered with fruitful fields and vineyards, and the fruits grown in this district are famed for their sweetness.”³

Referring to the population, Josephus says:⁴ “The

¹ “B. J.,” III. 3, § 2.

² *Ibid.*, *id.* 10, § 8.

³ “Beracoth,” 44 a.

⁴ “B. J.,” III. 3, § 2.

country hath never been destitute of men of courage, or wanted a numerous set of them, for their soil is universally rich and fruitful. . . . Moreover, the cities lie here very thick, and the very many villages here and there are everywhere so full of people, by the richness of their soil, that the very least of them contained about fifteen thousand inhabitants." Josephus always exaggerates, and his figures cannot be taken as trustworthy. It is impossible for us to accept this statement about the population. Even if by *κώμη* we understand not a village, but the entire district, we cannot accept the figures he gives. For by this reckoning the whole of Galilee would have contained three millions of people, and as its extent was only about twenty miles from north to south, and nine to ten from east to west, that is to say, from eighty to one hundred square miles, this would give thirty thousand inhabitants to every square mile, which is simply absurd. We may be satisfied then with saying that the district was a very populous one, without going into figures.

Josephus says there were 240 cities and villages in Galilee.¹ These figures may possibly be correct. The fortified towns, of which he tells us there were fifteen, may have been very small, and the villages for the most part mere hamlets.

Galilee was divided into Upper and Lower.² The former lay to the north, and was very mountainous; the latter to the south, and was a region of plains. Without attempting a detailed topographical description of Galilee, let us now pass rapidly in review the places named in the New Testament, and particularly those where Jesus dwelt.

¹ "Vita," § 45.

² "B. J.," III. 3, § 1. Mishnah, "Shebi'ith," 9, § 2.

Foremost of all is Nazareth (now en-Nāzirah),¹ the village where he was brought up. This is almost the only spot in the whole country which retains its original appearance. With the exception of two or three modern buildings, which disfigure it, it is just as it was when Jesus lived there. Elsewhere, at Jerusalem for example, everything is changed; it is impossible to reconstruct the past. At every turn one is met by the ridiculous inventions of a stupid and clumsy superstition. At Nazareth it is quite otherwise. There we can see the fountain to which Mary must have come at least twice a day, her pitcher on her shoulder, to draw the water for the house. The way up to it is over the hill which commands the village and the whole surrounding country, and from the top of which the inhabitants tried to throw Jesus down. We walk through streets which can scarcely have altered in appearance since Jesus played in them as a child, or as a young man carried on His trade of carpenter. There is not a path in the neighbourhood which He must not often have trodden,—not a hill-top which He may not have climbed and made

¹ Near to Nazareth was a hamlet called Bethlehem (Josh. xix. 20). In the Talmuds this name occurs, and in order to distinguish it from the village in Judea bearing the same name, it is called Bethlehem *Çerriyyah*, which is equivalent to Bethlehem *Nitseriah*, that is, Bethlehem near to Naçeriyyah, or in the district of Nazareth. It is impossible not to ask oneself if Jesus, who is called in the Gospels "the Nazarene," may not have been born in this very village near to Nazareth. Later on, this His birthplace may have become confounded with Bethlehem Ephratah in Judea, the cradle of the family of David, where, according to tradition, Messiah was to be born. We suggest this question without pretending to answer it. Bethlehem in Galilee still exists. It is the village of Beit-Lahm, north-east of Nāzirah (Nazareth). See Neuabuer, "Geography of the Talmud," pp. 189, 190.

it a place of prayer. In spite of what Josephus says, Nazareth cannot have contained more than three or four thousand souls in the first century. He does not even mention its name. The Talmuds also pass it over in silence, and we know that the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who thought slightly enough of all the Galileans, were wont to ask with scornful emphasis, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?"¹ There was was certainly no Roman garrison in the town. Hidden among the mountains, twenty-five miles distant from Jerusalem, eight or nine hours' march from Capernaum, and off any of the great roads, this charming village remained almost unknown.

In passing, let us notice Nain, once mentioned in the Gospel,² and situated in the plain of Esdraelon, and Cana³ (now Kefr Kenna),⁴ to the north of Nazareth, and give a few details about Tiberias. Tiberias (now Tübarîeh) was built after the Roman fashion. The residence of Agrippa, it had been entirely rebuilt by him. Its inhabitants were foreigners, and it was dedicated to Tiberius. Hence its name.⁵ Its population was wholly pagan; hence Jews, especially the rabbis and pious men, avoided even passing through it.⁶ And it is probable that Jesus never visited it. The heathen splendours with which Herod Antipas loved to surround himself irritated the national and religious sentiment. This town, situated four miles from Capernaum, and the capital of Galilee, is mentioned three times in the Gospel of John.⁷ It was at Tiberias that the Mishnah and Talmud

¹ John i. 46.

² Luke vii. 11.

³ John ii. 1 and foll.

⁴ Some identify the Cana of the Gospels with Quânat-ed-Djelil, a deserted village on the road from St. Jean d'Acre to Nazareth.

⁵ "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 2, § 3; "Vita," §§ 12, 13, 64; Pliny, "H. N.," V. 15. ⁶ Jerus., "Shebi'ith," IX. 1. ⁷ John vi. 1, 23; xxi. 1.

of Jerusalem, and subsequently the Massorah, or critical apparatus of the Biblical text, were written.¹

Tiberias stands on the shores of the lake which bears its name, and near the place where the Jordan emerges from it and flows on towards the Dead Sea. There was a bridge across the river at this spot, and there was only one other, the Bridge of Jacob, between the Sea of Samco and the Sea of Tiberias. This Bridge of Jacob was on the route from Jerusalem to Damascus. Everywhere else the river was crossed by boat. If we now follow the western shore of the lake turning our steps northward, we cross first a steep ridge of rocks, beyond which lies a broad plain almost on a level with the water. This is the country of Gennesaret. As we approach it to-day, we come first to a miserable village (el-Mejdel), and we ask ourselves whether this may not occupy the site of what was once Magdala, the town of Mary Magdalene. Having crossed the plain, and still following the river, we come to a pleasant narrow path cut in the rock—a path which has always been there, and along which Jesus must certainly have often gone. This is one of the few spots in Palestine of which we may say with confidence that it has undergone no change since the first century. Jesus saw these rocks; He trod these stones; He followed this path.

If we continue to ascend the lake and to skirt its shores, we come to its northern extremity. There, not far from the banks of the Jordan, stands Capernaum (now Tell-Hūm), and here we find ourselves in the very centre of the Lord's Galilean ministry. It was at Capernaum that He dwelt. This was the starting point for His journeys, and to this He returned after going about

¹ See the Talmuds, in introductory chapter.

from place to place doing good. Between Magdala and Capernaum lay Dalmanutha, of which no vestige remains. The site of Bethsaida, and of Chorazin it is impossible to determine. Chorazin is sometimes supposed to have been to the north, on the spot now called Khorazi, somewhere about an hour and a half's distance from Tiberias, where now stands Bir-Kherezoum. One thing only is certain, that this small district of a few miles in extent was the principal scene of the activity of Jesus.

Capernaum or Capharnaum (*Cephār* means village = village of Nahum), was composed of rough Jewish buildings. Josephus calls it *κεφαρνάμη*.¹ It was equidistant from Cæsarea Philippi to the north-east, from Nain to the south-west, from Tyre and Sidon to the north-west, and from Gadara to the south-east. It was half an hour's walk from the mouth of the Jordan, and it derived a certain importance from its geographical position. Situated upon the high road from Egypt to Syria, it was a centre for the collection of taxes,² and had a Roman garrison commanded by a centurion.³ Saul of Tarsus must have passed through it when he went from Jerusalem to Damascus, and it is at least permissible to imagine that the thoughts of Christ which the place could hardly fail to suggest, may have helped to hasten the great crisis of his life, which was so soon to change the persecutor into the chief of the apostles.

At Tell-Hūm are shown the remains of a synagogue; but the vestiges of the portico, which are in fair preservation, show that it is of later date than the first century. It cannot be the synagogue to which Jesus was wont to go.

The Lake of Tiberias was thirteen miles long and six

¹ "Vita," § 72.

² Matt. ix. 9.

³ Luke vii. 2.

broad. It could be crossed in a rowing boat in two hours at its broadest part. Its shores, which are now a wilderness, were in the first century a green and fruitful garden. But if the trees have disappeared, the strand remains the same, with its white pebbly beach gently washed by the waves. The Lake of Tiberias is not a quiet pool; it is a little sea. It has its sudden storms sweeping down from the hills and as rapidly subsiding. It was formerly, and still is, full of fish. One kind of fish caught there, and called by the Arabs *El-ialtry*, is found nowhere else except in the Nile. It is a round fish, the flesh slightly red, and good eating.

The Lake of Tiberias is not of the deep blue colour of the Mediterranean or the Lake of Geneva. It is of a greyish blue, like the Lake of Neuchatel, which it much resembles. This resemblance is rendered still more striking by the presence of large dark patches on the water, such as are constantly observed on the Swiss lakes, and for which no one has yet been able to account. The Lake of Tiberias is more than six hundred feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and in April and July the heat is terrible. The nights there are mild, while in the rest of the district they are cold; but the mosquitoes are very troublesome, and travellers passing a night on the lake can easily understand how, in this country, the devil came to be called the god of flies (*Beelzebub*). Josephus says that in the first century the climate on the shores of the lake was very pleasant.¹ This is quite possible, for the country being then more wooded, there would be more rainfall than now, and vegetation always produces a kind of freshness in the air.

¹ "B. J.," III. 10, §§ 7, 8.

PEREA.

Perea is not mentioned in the Gospels, we shall therefore have but little to say about it. It formed part of the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas. It was a sterile and thinly populated district, occupying the whole eastern bank of the Jordan. Josephus describes its boundaries: "The length of Perea is from Macherus to Pella, and its breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan."¹ But no one knows where the fortress of Pella was.

Macherus is better known. It was an enormous fortress sixty stadia from the Jordan, and built by Alexander Janneus upon great basalt rocks; it was afterwards razed by Gabinius, and rebuilt by Herod. It had walls of great thickness, battlements and towers. It contained some royal apartments, which Herod Antipas sometimes occupied, and below were dungeons, which served as prisons.

There was a wonderful view from the top of the towers. To the south the outlines of the Dead Sea were discernible, with Engedi and Hebron; to the north-west of these the hills of Judea with Jerusalem in the midst, in which could be distinguished the Palace of Herod and the Temple overlooked by the enormous Tower of Antonia. To the right lay Jericho with its evergreen forest of palm trees; then the blue-grey Jordan could be seen threading the plain. When Antipas came back from Rome, bringing with him Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, in order to marry her, he put away his own wife, the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea. War was declared in consequence, and in order to carry it on Antipas came to live in his palace at Macherus. Here was enacted the horrible tragedy of the death of John the Baptist.

¹ "B. J.," III. 3, § 3.

The walls of Macherus were discovered by Seetzen in 1807.¹

It only remains to speak of Decapolis.² This was a confederation of ten towns, the names of which are given by Pliny as follows:³ Scythopolis, Hippos, Gadara, Pella, Philadelphia, Gerasa, Dion, Carnatha, Damascus, and Kaphana. Pliny himself is not certain of giving them accurately. The only one of these towns mentioned in the Gospels, Gadara, was, as Josephus tells us, the strongest city in Perea.⁴

The name Perea (a Greek translation of the Hebrew *Eber*, beyond) had often a wider signification than we have given to it. It was used to designate the whole country lying to the east of Jordan, and it also comprehended the provinces of the tetrarchy of Philip, Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea.

We have already said that we shall not attempt to describe these provinces which do not appear in the Gospel narrative. We shall mention only Cæsarea Philippi, called at first Paneas (in honour of the great god Pan). A grove and a grotto, the grotto of Panium, were dedicated to him. Near this spot Herod built a temple in honour of Augustus, and his son Philip enlarged and embellished the town, and changed its name to Cæsarea. It was generally called Cæŕærea Philippi,⁵ to distinguish it from the great town of Cæsarea in Judea, the residence of the procurator. In the same way the

¹ Aug. Parent., "Macherous," Paris, 1836.

² Mark v. 1 ; Matt. viii. 28 ; Luke viii. 26.

³ "H. N.," v. 18

⁴ The name Gerasa, given in the Vulgate, is an error. Gerasa was far from the lake, Jesus did not go there, but to the country of the Gadarenes. The Syriac version of the second century gives the right reading—Gadarenes.

⁵ Matt. xvi. 13 ; Mark viii. 27.

town of Bethsaida, which Philip had surnamed Julias, in honour of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was called by the double name, and must not be confounded with the little village of Bethsaida, the site of which is unknown.¹

SAMARIA.

The Samaritans are often mentioned in the Gospels. We shall speak of their origin and customs in a special chapter on the population of Palestine in the first century.² Here we shall confine ourselves to some geographical details necessary to a right understanding of the Gospels.

Samaria, enclosed between Judea and Galilee, was smaller than either. Its territory did not extend even to the sea, for the whole coast, from Mount Carmel southwards, belonged to Judea. Thus the Galileans who went up to Jerusalem could take either the route by the seaboard, or go by the further side of Jordan. In this way they avoided passing through a territory where they were exposed to the insults of the inhabitants. Samaria took its name from its capital city Samaria. This city was built by Omri, king of Israel, upon a hill⁴ which he had bought of one Shemer, whose name it retained.

It was destroyed by Shalmaneser, rebuilt, and again destroyed by John Hyrcanus. It was once more restored by Gabinius, imperial legate of Syria, and under Herod the Great it became a flourishing city. This prince erected a temple there in honour of Augustus,

¹ Luke ix. 10 probably refers to Bethsaida Julias.

² See chap. vi., on The Population.

³ In the same way in the present day the province of Nablous is named from its chief city.

⁴ 1 Kings xvi. 24.

and changed the name of the city to Sebaste, the Greek equivalent of the Latin *Augusta*, a name which it still bears (Sebästieh).

Sichem (now *Nablous*) has a greater interest for us than Samaria. It is a very ancient city, built in a valley. Mount Ebal is to the north of it, and Gerizim to the south. In the Gospel of John it is called Sychar,¹ an ironical term, meaning drunkenness. It occurs nowhere else, and seems to be one of those nicknames invented by the Jews, who loved to distort the Samaritan names and turn them into ridicule. The modern town Naplous (Neapolis, New City) is not built exactly on the site of Sichem, but beside it. It stood thus in the time of St. Jerome. Near it is the well of Jacob, now almost entirely filled up. If at Nazareth, at Jericho, at Bethlehem, the memories of the first century are vivid, it is otherwise at Jacob's well. This fountain, immortalised by the interview of Jesus with the Samaritan woman, is now only a shallow pool in the middle of a field. The site is probably genuine, but there are no remains of any sort to help the imagination to reconstruct the scene at the well. We are all the more forcibly reminded of the words there spoken by the Lord, that worship was no longer to be associated with certain sacred spots, but was to be world-wide, in spirit and in truth.²

¹ John iv. 5.

² John iv. 23, 24.

CHAPTER II.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE GOSPELS (continued).

Judea.—Jerusalem.—Name.—General Aspect.—Walls.—Population.—The Four Hills.—The Squares.—Streets.—Synagogues.—Monuments.—Towers.—The Palace of Herod.—The Tower of Antonia.—The Reservoirs.—The Mount of Olives.—Bazaars of Annas.—Gethsemane.—Bethany.—Jericho.—Jordan.—The Dead Sea.—Bethlehem.—Joppa.

JUDEA. JERUSALEM.

THE general aspect of Judea is that of a mountainous country. The soil is stony, the land arid and parched, and if the contrast between Judea and Galilee is striking now, it must have been much more so in the first century. In Galilee nature was now smiling, now majestic; the soil was rich and fertile, and water plentiful; the fields were well cultivated, the whole region wooded. In Judea the hillsides rose abrupt, bare, untilled, and the general impression was one of dryness and desolation.

The capital was Jerusalem, the greatest city of Palestine, the seat of religious authority, the centre of worship and of public life, the spot to which all eyes were turned. It was thirty-two miles distant from the sea and eighteen from the Jordan. In Genesis it is called Salem,¹ and its change of name is thus explained in Jewish tradition:² "Abraham called this place Jireh, and Shem called it Salem. And God said: If I call it Jireh, it will displease righteous Shem, and if I call it

¹ Gen. xiv. 18.

² "Bereshith Rabbah," sect. 9.

Salem, that will displease righteous Abraham. I will call it by the two names in one."

We shall try first to get a view of the city as it was in the first century, and for this purpose we will climb the Mount of Olives, take the path which leads to Bethany, and look at Jerusalem as it appears to us from the very spot where Jesus saw it on Palm Sunday, and wept over it. The first impression is that of a strong, almost impregnable city. A wall thick and high rises beyond the brook Cedron, and encloses the whole city. It has many towers of unequal height; most notable are the four great towers to the north-west. In the space thus enclosed appears a mass of houses closely grouped together, and seeming to press one upon another. They have no roofs, but terraces, and look like so many little cubes of white stone cut against the blue sky. They are dotted irregularly up and down the hills. Lastly two gigantic buildings overlook the city—the Temple¹ and the Palace of Herod.

The Temple looks like a fortress, or rather like a fortified town within the city. The great walls which surround it almost hide from view the several successive enclosures, each with its cloisters. To the right of the spectator rises the sanctuary itself, the roof of which is very lofty, and thickly studded with gilded spikes. Lastly, behind the sanctuary, really separate from the Temple, but at the distance at which we stand seeming to join it, rises a huge structure, the Tower of Antonia, the upper platform of which looks right down into the inner courts of the sacred building. "He who has not seen Jerusalem," say the Talmudists, "has never seen a beautiful city."²

¹ Moriah, or Mosque of Omar, on our plan.

² Babyl., "Succah," 51 b.

Let us now descend the Mount of Olives, and approach the city, and before entering it look around its precincts. It is shut in by an enormous wall with many gates. This wall encloses the hill upon which the Temple is built, it shuts in Jerusalem on the south, encompasses also the hill of Zion to the south-west, ascends towards the north, and forming a right angle, at the apex of which stands the Tower of Hippicus, it seems to enter the city and proceed in a right line to join the western wall of the Temple. This is the old enclosure, the latter part of which is now useless, for the city has extended northwards in a quarter called Acra or the Lower City. This quarter is itself surrounded by a wall which encloses it and with it the palace of the procurator and the Fortress of Antonia. Lastly, beyond this wall, the town again spreads northward. Scattered houses in considerable number are dotted about over a hill called Bezetha, and in a few years, Herod Agrippa I. will build a third wall, which, carrying on the first enclosure from the Tower of Hippicus, will enclose a large piece of ground, including that on which stands Calvary, and will rejoin the old enclosure not far from the pool of Bethesda, and close to the Temple.

This wall was not yet built in the lifetime of Christ, and Calvary was still without the gates. We borrow from Josephus this very clear distinction of the three walls. The third was not built in the time of Christ; the first alone was used, and the second where the first had become useless.

These enclosures are admirably constructed. The walls are "full of sally ports and embrasures."¹ The first wall is battlemented and fortified with sixty towers

¹ Tacitus, "Hist.," v. II : "Muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati."

which are separated from each other by a space of two hundred cubits. The second wall has fourteen of these towers, and the wall of Agrippa, built subsequently, has ninety. The city, says Josephus, is twenty-three stadia in circumference, but it must be remembered that he includes in this measurement the wall of Agrippa, which was not built till the middle of the first century.

What was the probable population of the city during the lifetime of Jesus? This is very difficult to say. It is almost impossible, even in our day, to get a census of an Eastern city. For instance, as regards Cairo, at the present time it is an open question whether the minimum return of 200,000, or the maximum of from 6 to 700,000, is nearer the truth. With regard to ancient Jerusalem there are hardly any data to go upon. Cicero, in one of his letters, speaks scornfully of Jerusalem as a little hole of a place.¹ On the other hand Hecateus of Abdera, quoted by Josephus,² estimates the number of inhabitants under Alexander the Great, at 120,000. We are inclined to think these figures somewhat extravagant. We may at any rate take this as the maximum; and it may be possible to get the minimum also. The city of to-day has scarcely 15,000 inhabitants. If we bear in mind this figure and the place occupied by the old walls, we may put down the minimum population of the ancient city at four times 15,000. Jerusalem had then at least 60,000, or at most 120,000 inhabitants. M. Renan speaks of 50,000 only; this is too low a figure. The writer has failed to allow for the readiness with which Orientals crowd into a small space. M. Chauvet³ suggests 80,000 to 100,000 souls, and this seems to us much nearer the truth.

¹ "Ad Atticum," II. 9.

² "Contr. Ap.," I. § 22.

³ "Encycl. des sciences relig.," Art. Jérusalem.

At the time of the great festivals there was an immense accession to the population. Hausrath¹ speaks of as many as three millions at the Feast of the Passover. It is certain that at this season people crowded into Jerusalem from all parts. Tents were pitched in the streets, and in all the adjacent country. This was probably the reason why Jesus, in the last days of his life, left the city every evening, and went to pass the night at Bethany, or at a farm-house on the Mount of Olives. He could not find a lodging in Jerusalem. We can understand also what a crowd would naturally be gathered around the cross, which was set up just outside the city gates. During the siege of Jerusalem, the number of people within the city must have been at least a million.

We have as yet spoken only of the wall surrounding the city. Before we enter, let us examine the gates. Each of these forms a vaulted arch in the thickness of the wall, closed at either end by swing doors. All the gates of the Temple were on the same plan. Above the arch was a spacious chamber for the use of those who kept the gate. We have no positive information as to the number of the gates, or the order in which they were placed. Reland, in his work on Palestine,² names several, but without describing them further.

First, the Old Gate, on the north-east; 2nd, the Gate of Ephraim or of Benjamin, on the north; 3rd, the Corner Gate, north-west; 4th, the Ravine Gate; 5th, the Dung Gate; 6th, the Fountain Gate, on the south-west. We can identify only one of these—the Dung Gate or Gate of the Sewers. This is referred to by Nehemiah,³ and

¹ "Die Zeit Christi," Hausrath.

² "Palæstina," Book III. p. 855.

³ Neh. iii. 13.

was situated near the site of the present gate. It was also called the Gate of the Essenes.

But there were others which Reland did not mention; for example the Gate of the Gardens (Gennath) to the east, near which was Calvary¹. The second wall, intended to enclose the Acra or Lower City, began at this gate. It took its name from the plantations of fruit trees which abounded on this side of Jerusalem. In the first century these gardens began to disappear and to be replaced by houses. Some years later Agrippa made these houses part of the city, building the third wall. The gardens were on broken and undulating ground, and abounded with rocks and caves. Some belonged to rich men. Joseph of Arimathea, a member of the Sanhedrim, possessed one, and had a tomb cut out of the rock for himself and his family. Calvary was just at the corner formed by the first and second wall, where the roads from the old and the new city crossed, and only a few paces from the Gate of the Gardens, which was unquestionably that by which Jesus went out accompanied by Simon of Cyrene, bearing His cross. We know also that there was a gate called the Fish Gate² without being able to determine exactly where it stood.³ Near it was the fish market, kept by the Tyrians, and supplied by the fishermen of the Lake of Galilee.⁴

To the east, behind the Temple, was a gate now called St. Stephen's Gate,⁵ formerly the Sheep Gate. The

¹ We accept as authentic the traditional site assigned to Calvary, and the Holy Sepulchre. This opinion is general to-day among the learned. See "*Voy. en terre sainte*," Bovet.

² 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

³ M. Walther, in his "*Étude historique de la topographie de Jérusalem*," thinks it was probably to the north of the city.

⁴ Neh. xiii. 16.

⁵ See Plan of City.

reservoir of Bethesda was close by, and it was through this gate that the sheep for sacrifice passed. It is pleasant to think that the scene described in John x. may have taken place at this gate. Jesus saw the sheep going in and out, and according to His usual method of speaking of that which was passing before His eyes, He said, "I am the door of the sheep." This was the principal exit from the town on the eastern side, and adjoined the Temple. Jesus must have constantly gone in and out by this gate. By this way He went on Thursday evening, April 30th,¹ when He was leaving the city of Jerusalem to go to the Garden of Olives, where He was arrested. Farther on than the site of the Sheep Gate, and on the same side, we find to-day the remains of a temple of Herod,² and an entrance, now walled up, called the Golden Gate. By this there was a way into the inner courts of the Temple, and as it opened upon the Valley of Cedron and the Mount of Olives, it was probably through this gate that Jesus passed on Palm Sunday. We cannot speak with certainty of any of the other gates of Jerusalem mentioned by Nehemiah or other Old Testament writers. To the south there were no gates; Mount Zion was inaccessible on that side.

Let us now enter the city. We have already spoken of the four hills on which it was built: Zion, Moriah, Bezetha and Acra. We know that Bezetha, though much built upon in the time of Christ, was still outside the walls. There remain Zion, or the Higher City, Moriah, or the Temple Hill, and Acra, or the Lower City. Josephus places Zion to the south-west, separating

¹ See the principal dates of the life of Christ. Book II. ch. xv.

² This was the opinion of M. de Saulcy. Other archæologists do not think these remains to be of earlier date than the time of the Emperor Hadrian (117-138, A. D.).

this mountain entirely from the Temple Hill (Moriah), which is to the east. This statement does not agree with the references to it in Scripture, where Zion is always spoken of as the "holy hill,"¹ that upon which stood the sanctuary, and modern archæologists agree in rectifying the statement of the Jewish historian on this point. Zion is not the hill to the south-west, but to the east, and included the eminence on which the Temple stood. Zion is the old city, the City of David, which, in the time of Christ, occupied the whole of the southern part of Jerusalem. That which was originally the name of a hill, had extended to several quarters, the most elevated parts of the city. Then Jerusalem had spread to the north, and was still growing in that direction in the first century. A deep valley separated the Upper City from the Temple Hill on the one hand, and from the Lower City on the other. This valley, called the Valley of the Cheesemongers or the Tyropeon, has now almost disappeared. It has been filled up with the accumulated rubbish and ruins of eighteen centuries. The name Valley of Cheesemongers was given to it in the first century, and it dated no doubt from the origin of the city.

The great place of concourse for Jerusalem was in this valley. It was called Xistus, and according to Josephus, it was the forum, the place for public meetings, the Pnyx of the city. On this spot stood the *βουλή*, the council hall. Above was a bridge joining the Temple Hill to the Upper City. If we take our stand on this Temple Hill, we see the whole of Jerusalem lying at our feet. It looks as if it consisted of two distinct towns, the upper and the lower. The upper city lies to our left, the lower to our right, and

¹ Ps. ii.

in front of us, dividing these two halves of the city, is the old wall, forming the first enclosure, with the Tyropeon and the great place of the Xistus.

The second wall (afterwards itself enclosed) surrounds the whole of the lower city to the north.

If we go through the city we find several other open spaces besides the one we have just mentioned—the place of the butchers,¹ that of the workers in wool, the market for fat cattle, the wool market, called also the Upper Market.² There was also an open space, the name of which is lost,³ leading from the temple to the Mount of Olives. By this way Jesus must often have gone.

These open spaces were swept every day,⁴ a detail in striking contrast to the uncleanness of modern Oriental cities. There were no gardens, because the smell of manure was held in abhorrence.⁵ The only exception was one rose garden, which dated from the time of the prophets.⁶ Stoves were forbidden because of the smoke.⁷ The streets were narrow, but the principal thoroughfares had been paved by Herod the Great. Here and there was one broader than the rest, which was used for shops and bazaars; but the largest open spaces were always round the inside of the gates, and here there was most traffic and movement. We only know the names of two streets, the Street of the Bakers and the Street of the Temple,⁸ which ran along the western wall of the holy mountain. The town is all ascents and

¹ Mishnah, "Erubin," X. 9.

² *Id.*

³ Ezra x. 9.

⁴ Babyl., "Baba Meçi'a," 26 *a*.

⁵ Babyl., "Baba Kamma," 82 *b*.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Babyl., "Zebachim," 95 *a*.

⁸ "Chagigah," I. 1.

descents, but we know that the hill leading up to the Temple was not very steep. Sheep and oxen went up it easily. "A boy was exempted from coming up to the sanctuary for the three great festivals," says the school of Hillel, "till he could walk alone up the hill to the Temple, holding his father's hand."

The traffic in the streets of our great modern cities would give us an altogether wrong idea of the daily life in the great cities of the ancient world. In Paris or London that which strikes us is the enormous number of vehicles. In Rome vehicles only passed through the streets at night. In the daytime the pavements were taken up with the stalls of sellers, who had no closed shops as in our days, and the roadway was used by foot-passengers and litters. No horses, carriages, or vehicles of any description passed through the streets till dark, when the shops were shut. It was the same in Jerusalem. No carriage was seen in the streets; litters were even rare; camels and asses were in more frequent use. Most of the streets were indeed so narrow that no carriage in the world could have passed along them. It was as much as two laden asses could do to pass each other.

The reader will have observed that the names of streets and places which have come down to us, are all connected with some trade—butchers, bakers, smiths, etc. These names lead us to think that the various trades were grouped into one quarter in the interior of the city—some occupying a street, some a place, some a cross-road. This opinion is strengthened when we find what an incredible number of synagogues there were in Jerusalem. They numbered no less than 480.¹

¹ Jerus., "Megillah," fol. 73 *b*. According to Jerus., "Cethubboth," 35 *b*, there were only 460.

Enormous as this number seems, we find that there are as many mosques in a Mahomedan city to-day. Almost every family has its own mosque. The synagogues of Jerusalem were specially appropriated by the great families, or by certain trades. There was one, for example, called the smiths' synagogue. Strangers also passing through the city had set apart for their use a special synagogue appropriated to their nation. There were the synagogues of the Cyrenians, the Cilicians, the Asiatics, the Alexandrians.¹ In the latter the Greek language was used and the Septuagint version read.² All these synagogues were much frequented, and every morning, at break of day, the streets were full of women, scribes and Pharisees, their *Tephillin* on their arms, repairing to their chosen synagogue.

Let us now turn to the monuments which we saw from the top of the Mount of Olives—the towers on the walls, the Palace of Herod, and the Tower of Antonia.

We shall describe the Temple in some special chapters of our second Book, to which we refer the reader. There were many towers on the walls; we shall mention only three—the towers of Hippicus, Phasaël, and Mariamne. These were all new, at the time of which we speak, having been built or rather restored by Herod the Great. The Tower of Hippicus (the name of a friend of Herod), was square.³ "Its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it had no vacuity in it. Over this solid building, which was composed of great stones united together, was a reservoir twenty cubits deep. Over this was a house of two stories, whose height was twenty-five cubits, and

¹ Acts vi. 9.

² Jerus., "Sotah," 21 b.

³ "B. J.," V. 4, § 3.

divided into several parts, over which were battlements of two cubits, and turrets all round of three cubits high, insomuch that the entire height added together amounted to fourscore cubits."¹ The Tower of Phasaël (the name of a brother of Herod) "had its breadth and height equal, each of them forty cubits, over which was its solid height of forty cubits, over which a cloister went round about. Over this cloister was another tower, parted into magnificent rooms and a place for bathing. . . . The entire height of it was ninety cubits, and the appearance of it resembled the Tower of Pharos at Alexandria."²

The Tower of Mariamne (the name of one of Herod's wives) "was solid as high as twenty cubits ; its breadth and its length were twenty cubits, and the entire height of the tower fifty cubits. Its upper buildings were more magnificent and had greater variety than the other towers."³

These three towers being themselves so high, especially the first two, appeared even higher because they were built upon hills. Titus left these towers standing. They were to the north of the royal palace, and some remains of the Tower of Phasaël still exist under the name of the Tower of David. The Tower of Hippicus was on the very spot where now stands the Castle of Jerusalem, built by the Saracens upon the old foundation, at the north-west corner of the first wall.

The Palace of Herod the Great was a very imposing building, rising behind the three towers we have just described, and occupying the north-east and east of the upper city.⁴ It was still further embellished by

¹ "B. J.," V. 4, § 3.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ The site of the Palace of Herod ought to be marked on our plan between the Street of Zion and the Tower of Hippicus.

Agrippa II., and Josephus writes of it with enthusiasm. He says, "It exceeds all my ability to describe it" (παντὸς λόγου κρείσσον).¹ This palace, built of white marble and "walled about to the height of thirty cubits, was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large bed-chambers that would contain beds for a hundred guests apiece, in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed, for a large quantity of those that were rare of that kind was collected together. The roofs also were wonderful, both for the length of the beams and the splendour of their ornaments. The number of the rooms was also very great; their furniture was complete, and the greatest part of the vessels that were put in them was of silver and gold. The courts that were exposed to the air were everywhere green, and there were groves of trees and long walks through them, with deep canals and cisterns that in several parts were filled with brazen statues through which the water ran out."²

Of all these splendours, there remains not a vestige. Did Antipas live in his father's palace when he came occasionally to Jerusalem? Did Jesus perhaps enter this magnificent abode when on the morning of his death Pilate sent him to the Tetrarch? We cannot say.

Herod had, as we know, a passion for building. Josephus says that "he built a theatre in Jerusalem, and also a very great amphitheatre in the plain."³ He also reared a monument, which he called Herodium, sixty stadia outside the walls of Jerusalem, on the spot where he had repulsed the followers of Antigone. This was an enormous tumulus, surmounted by round towers,

¹ "B. J.," V. 4, § 4.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Ant. Jud.," XV. 8, § 1.

with a palace in the interior, and ample provision for the supply of water. The site of this tumulus is known. The hill near Beit-Lehm, called the "Mount of the French," or "Mount of the little Paradise," is the site of Herodium.¹ M. de Vogué has carefully studied the ruins.

The Tower of Antonia was a gigantic fortress, "situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the Temple, that on the west and that on the north. It was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, and was on a great precipice. The rock itself was, in the first place, covered over with smooth pieces of stone, from its foundation, both for ornament, and that any one who would either try to get up, or to go down it, might not be able to hold his feet upon it. Next to this, and before you come to the edifice of the tower itself, there was a wall three cubits high; but within that wall all the space of the Tower of Antonia itself was built upon, to the height of forty cubits. . . . As the entire structure resembled that of a tower, it contained also four other distinct towers at its four corners, whereof the others were but fifty cubits high, whereas that which lay upon the south-east corner was seventy cubits high, that from thence the whole Temple might be viewed. On the corner where it joined the two cloisters of the Temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guard (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion) went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not there attempt to make any innovations."² The

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XIV. 13, § 9.

² The Tower of Antonia thus communicated with the Temple by a subterranean passage.

inward parts of the tower had the largeness and form of a palace, it being parted into all kinds of rooms and other conveniences, such as courts and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps."¹

The rock on which Antonia was built has been measured in our day. It is about 85 feet high. The summit of the south-east tower was therefore about 200 feet above the pavement of the courts of the Temple.

This fortress was built by the Maccabean princes. It was called Bāris. This word, pronounced by the Jews Birah, and probably borrowed from the Persians, for it only occurs in writers after the time of the exile, means simply fortress, citadel. Herod the Great, to flatter his master Anthony, changed its name to Antonia. It was into this fortress that St. Paul was taken at the time of his arrest;² but the pretorium where Jesus was tried was not here. It was quite apart, in the old palace of Herod, adjoining the Tower of Antonia. The seraglio of the Pasha of Jerusalem occupies now the site of the pretorium.

There appear to have been many pools and reservoirs in Jerusalem. There was a reservoir in front of the Tower of Antonia, and another in the north of the city. The pool of Bethesda seems to have been the same as Siloam. The whole quarter in which it was bore the same name. It is not known whether the tower spoken of in the Gospel³ was at the pool itself and contiguous to its porches, or in the same quarter but at some distance.

We will only mention further the excavations and many subterranean passages underneath the city and the Temple. All cities built upon quarries from which

¹ "B. J.," V. 5, § 8.

² Acts xxi. 34.

³ Luke xiii. 4.

the stone has been taken for building, have these catacombs. The subterranean passages in Jerusalem are partially blocked up to-day. Those that can be visited are sufficiently extensive, and the traveller finds in them huge blocks of hewn stone, like those which form the wall of the Temple and its foundations at the south-east corner of the city. These stones were hewn in the time of Solomon and left over from the building of the sanctuary. They have remained where they are for three thousand years.¹

If we, of the nineteenth century, wish to picture to ourselves the Jerusalem of the first century, we must look for it, not in the city bearing the name in Palestine, but rather in the Mussulman and Arab towns of Algeria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. The traveller who visits one of these great Oriental cities finds there the same narrow streets crowded with asses and camels, the same white houses in the form of a cube, the same noisy and bustling bazaars, which were familiar features in the life of old Jerusalem. If he is in a holy city he will encounter the same contempt and hatred with which the Gentile was regarded at Jerusalem. He will find also a fanatical devotion and ritualism similar to that of the Jews. He will meet scribes carrying their ink bottle in their girdle, and will hear preachers crying aloud in the streets as in the holy city in the olden time.

ENVIRONS OF JERUSALEM.

The eastern side of the city was the only one that was at all agreeable, and this is the only quarter of which we shall now speak particularly, as our object is

¹ This explains 1 Kings vi. 7, where we are told that the stones were brought all hewn and ready to be fitted into their place.

to follow the footsteps of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to throw some light upon the leading passages of the Gospel.¹ To the east of the city rose the hill called the Mount of Olives, or as the Talmuds sometimes call it, Har ham-mishchah.²

Josephus says it "lay over against the city, and at the distance of five furlongs."³ It was not more than two minutes' walk outside the wall to the valley of the Cedron; then, the brook crossed, the traveller at once ascended the hill, for the valley was only the width of the stream. Before reaching the torrent, Bethphage, so named from its fig trees, was passed. Bethphage was not a village but an outskirt of Jerusalem,⁴ for the whole district contiguous to the eastern wall of the city bore that name. The Mount of Olives, as its name implies, was well wooded, and on the side looking towards the Temple, the tombs of the prophets and other great personages of the Old Testament, were discernible. Jesus saw them, and doubtless pointed to them when, standing in Solomon's porch, he said to the Pharisees, "Ye are like unto whited sepulchres."⁵ Some of these monumental stones are still visible, among them the tomb of Absalom, which many travellers believe to be genuine.

¹ We may mention also the deep valley of Gehenna, which lay to the south of the city, on the side where the wall was inaccessible. Into this all the garbage of Jerusalem was thrown and slowly consumed by a perpetual fire. It was one of those empty and desolate places that are often found in the neighbourhood of great cities. Its very name was loathsome, and it was frequently used as a symbol of the everlasting fire of hell.

² Jerus., "Ta'anith," IV. 8.

³ "Ant. Jud.," XX. 8, § 6.

⁴ Babyl., "Pesachim," 53 *a* and 63 *b*.

⁵ Matt. xxiii. 27.

The Cedron might be crossed by a bridge which connected the Temple with the Mount of Olives. This association with the sanctuary lent a sacred character to the hill itself. It was sometimes regarded as forming part of the area of the Temple. Thus the priests had set up shops there which they kept themselves, and the income from which belonged to the powerful family of Annas the Sadducean. This little bazaar was held under two magnificent cedars,¹ which were frequented by clouds of doves. These were for sale, and every month forty *se'ah* were derived from the sale of doves for the ceremonial purification of women.² It is probable that Mary bought under these cedars, the doves which she offered for her purification ;³ for, says one of the Talmuds, "these birds sufficed to supply pigeons for sacrifice for all Israel." It was into the house of Annas that Jesus was taken immediately after his arrest.⁴

The Gospel of John speaks of a "garden" of olive trees⁵ into which Jesus entered. It seems to us clear that the reference here is to an enclosure planted with olive trees, in which was an oil press (Gethsemane means oil press). This was probably the private property of a friend of Jesus, living in Jerusalem. We have said already that gardens were forbidden within the city. All the gardens, therefore, were without the walls, especially at the foot of the Mount of Olives.⁶

¹ Jerus., "Ta'anith," IV. 8.

² Jerus., "Ta'anith," fol. 69, 2.

³ Luke ii. 22-24.

⁴ See chap. iv. in this volume, on the Sanhedrim.

⁵ John xviii. 1.

⁶ Talmud, "Baba Kamma," chap. vii. Gardens were formerly, as they still are in the East, a luxury highly prized.

Jesus, when he left Jerusalem on the evening of Thursday, April 6th, year 30, repaired then to the enclosed garden of the oil press. He had often been there with His disciples. This Judas knew, and he led thither the band of soldiers. They arrested Jesus, and brought Him at once to the house of Annas, of which we have just spoken, adjoining the bazaar and beside the two cedars. This was a property of the old high priest.

It took scarcely twenty minutes to go from the gate of the city to the summit of the Mount of Olives; then descending, in another twenty minutes Bethany was reached. Bethany means "house of dates," now El-Azirieh.¹ This path which Jesus took on Palm Sunday still remains, with the turn in the road where the holy city, previously hidden, bursts into view.² Bethany, standing in the midst of farms and villages, and surrounded by palm trees, was on the side which looks towards the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Here it was that Jesus found a little quiet after the disputations in the Court of the Gentiles. The contrast between the capital and the village was very marked. Jerusalem meant the town, the crowd, physical and mental weariness, the disputes and hatred of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and of all those who sought the death of Jesus. Bethany meant the country, solitude, rest of

¹ We cannot accept Beth Hini as the site of Bethany, for the Talmud says of it: "The shops of Beth Hini were destroyed three years before Jerusalem" (Jerus., "Pē'ah," I. 3). This Beth Hini meant the shops of the sons of Annas by the cedars. The Bethany of the Gospels was farther away from Jerusalem, and on the other side of the hill.

² At this turn in the road we must place the scene recorded in Luke xix. 41 and foll.

body and soul, the hospitality of Mary, Martha and Lazarus, the friends whom Jesus loved.

Bethany was the first village on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, and beyond this spot, the road was very unsafe. Hence Jesus makes this the scene of the parable of the Good Samaritan.¹ So placed it is singularly appropriate and admirable. The priests and Levites often had occasion to pass this way. We know indeed, from the Talmuds,² that of the twenty-four classes of priests and Levites, many resided at Jericho, and there was a constant struggle for pre-eminence between the priests of that city and those of Jerusalem. The incident itself of an attack of brigands in the rocky way which lay between Bethany and the Jordan, was of constant occurrence. Under the Roman government, the safety of the high roads was very inadequately secured.³ The Romans no doubt depended on the Jews to keep their own roads, and the Jews in their turn looked to the Romans. Thus there was really no police, and St. Jerome says that in his time the road was infested with hordes of brigands.

Before leaving the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem, we may call attention to the fact that Solomon had caused three great reservoirs to be cut in the rock and placed one above the other. These were called Solomon's Pools, and they secured a supply of water for the king's gardens, which were close by. These gardens had long disappeared, and the reservoirs were no longer of any use. When the Romans reduced Judea to a province they tried to utilize them, and Pontius Pilate had an aqueduct made to bring the water from them into Jerusalem. He took the money

¹ Luke x. 30, and foll.

² "Ta'anith," 67, 4.

³ "Ad Jerem.," III. 2.

needed for this purpose from the treasury of the Temple. This was sacred money, the "Corban," and the Jews never forgave the sacrilege.¹ This theft of the Corban was one of the many grievances of the administration of Pilate. The Pools of Solomon still remain, as well as the aqueduct constructed by Pilate. They are called by the Arabs, El-Burak, and supply the Haram of Jerusalem with water.

At Jericho we are on the banks of the Jordan. This city, lying north-east of Jerusalem, is separated from it by only one hundred and fifty furlongs, ten *parsah*² according to the Talmuds.³ It was not further away from Jerusalem than Versailles is from Paris. It was and continues to be one of the most charming spots in Syria. Josephus says of this city, as of Galilee, "It is a divine country."⁴ Nowhere else did the palm trees grow in such beauty and luxuriance. They formed a great wood surrounding the city on all sides, not to speak of the gardens and cultivated fields, the beauty and fruitfulness of which were the admiration of antiquity.⁵ "The plain of Jericho is covered with corn."⁶ As it stood at the head of a route, it was an important seat of customs. Thus the episode of Zaccheus belongs to it very naturally.⁷

The Jordan flows by, shut in between bare rocks. The whole of its valley, as well as the plain of Jericho, has the climate of the tropics, and the city, situated

¹ See the next chapter, on Pontius Pilate. ² *Parsah* is the Persian *farsang*, *παρσάγγης*, *parasang*, about 3,750 paces.

³ Babyl., "Yoma," 20 *b*.

⁴ Jos., "B. J.," IV. 8, § 3; I. 6, § 6; I. 18, § 5; "Ant. Jud.," XV. 4, § 2; IV. 6, § 1; XIV. 4, § 1.

⁵ Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 18; Strabo, XVI. 2, 41.

⁶ "Mecilta," sect. "beshallach."

⁷ Luke xix. 1, and foll.

far below the level of the Mediterranean, enjoys perpetual spring. The cold that prevails on the surrounding highlands is there unknown.

If, on leaving Jericho, we descend the Jordan, we arrive at the oasis of Engedi, thirteen leagues distant from Jerusalem, and not far from the place where the river falls into the Dead Sea. Here, in the first century, dwelt the Essenes, in complete isolation from the world, veritable monks in their convents.

The Dead Sea, upon the western shore of which they had built their monastery, is of great extent, covering in all about 250 geographical square miles. In the Talmuds it is called the "Sea of Salt," or "Sea of Sodom." The water has a very unpleasant taste, and its density is such that "it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it, nor is it easy to make anything sink therein."¹

No one was ever drowned in the Dead Sea.² Fishes cannot live in it, nor are any aquatic plants found there. There is an abundance of shells, however, on its shores. The Arabs of our day call it *Bahr Lūt*, the Sea of Lot.

Let us now return to Jerusalem. Six miles from the city and three hundred feet above it we come to the village of Bethlehem, where, according to the Evangelists Matthew and Luke, Jesus was born. This little town has retained, like Nazareth, the features which characterized it in the first century. Bethlehem, like Jerusalem, forms a sort of peninsula, clinging on one side to the mountains which surround it, and inaccessible

¹ Jos., "B. J.," IV. 8, § 4; Tacitus, "Hist.," V. 6.

² A saying of Rabbi Dini, quoted Bab., "Shabbath," 108 *b*. It is true. A man can bear himself up in the water of the Dead Sea without knowing how to swim, because of its extreme density, but the bather has to make a continual effort to keep his head out of water.³

on every other side. The gate looks towards Jerusalem, and is that by which Joseph and Mary entered on the eve of the Nativity. The well, certainly an ancient one, is outside the modern town, and around this all the public life of the place centred. By the well and beside the gate was the forum, the focus of social life in the East. Evening and morning the inhabitants gathered there; the flocks were brought to water by the shepherds,¹ and the young girls, pitcher on shoulder, came to draw the water wanted for the house. Travellers would make the well their halting place, pitch their tents there, and prepare their meals. Justin Martyr, writing in the first half of the second century, speaks of the Cave of the Nativity. The Gospel narrative does not indeed say that Jesus was born in a cave, but the excavations at Bethlehem were used as stables in the old times as now, and without necessarily believing in the genuineness of that which is shown to travellers to-day as "the Cave of the Nativity," it is very possible that the stable in which Christ was born may have really been a cave.

The last town of Judea mentioned in the New Testament² is Joppa, now Jaffa, anciently in Hebrew Japho. The Israelites had no other port, or rather maritime town, for port there was none, nor could there be any. The shore is practically inaccessible. Ships have to stay out in the open, the landing has to be done in small boats. Jaffa was of great service at the time of the building of Solomon's temple. The cedars from Lebanon were brought thither on rafts, and were thence conveyed to Jerusalem.³

¹ Gen. xxiv. 11.

² Acts ix. 36, 43.

³ 2 Chron. ii. 16 ; Ezra iii. 7.

CHAPTER III.

THE HERODS.—PONTIUS PILATE.—FINIS JUDEÆ.

Death of Herod the Great.—His Son.—Early Years of the Life of Jesus.—The First Revolts.—Judas of Galilee.—The Procurators. — Pilate's Administration. — Herod Antipas. — Herod Agrippa I.—Herod Agrippa II.—The Final Insurrection.—The War.—The Siege and Destruction of Jerusalem.

WHEN Jesus was born, Herod the Great had been reigning over Palestine for thirty-four years.¹ He was to die a few months later. This king, who was at once cruel and cunning, had been an abominable tyrant. His name was spoken with bated breath as a sound of terror. The Jews detested him. In the first place he was of foreign extraction, a native of Idumea. "He is an Idumean slave," the Pharisees would whisper to each other when they were sure that no one heard them—a slave because he served the Romans, and while bearing the title of king, was in reality only a lieutenant of the emperor.

The tool by turns of Antony or Augustus, as the one or the other was in the ascendant, he had adopted what seemed to the Jews the most hateful policy, because it humbled their nation, took away its independence, and overthrew all its hopes of universal dominion. In his domestic administration, he had been recklessly

¹ See Book II. chap. xv., for the principal dates in the life of Christ.

extravagant, and had sought by flatteries to curry favour with the people. For he was one of those sovereigns who try to make their subjects forget the loss of liberty by pampering them with pleasures and festivities.

These tactics might answer in Rome, but they could not be successful in Jerusalem, where the people were upheld by strong religious beliefs, and by ardent patriotism. Thus the Jews had bated no jot of their hatred for their monarch. The terror which he inspired was only too well justified. Having already been the murderer of most of the members of his family, he condemned his eldest son to death only a few days before he died himself. Many plots had been laid against the life of the tyrant, and many attempts made to get rid of him, but he had foiled them all, and had sentenced the conspirators to atrocious tortures. In the very year of the birth of Christ¹ he had caused a golden eagle to be set up over the great doorway of the Temple. Some courageous Pharisees dared to tear it down and to break it in pieces ; but they were recognised, and Herod had them burned alive. His mania for perpetually defying the national religious feelings and prejudices led to the final conflict, the struggle which was to bring to an end the very existence of the Jewish people. The irritation of this unhappy race had gone on ever increasing, from the day, sixty-three years before, when Pompey took possession of the Holy of Holies and profaned it by his presence.

It was in this atmosphere of political and religious agitation that Jesus was born and grew up. The old king, now seventy years of age, was attacked just at

¹ It is possible, however, that Christ may have been two or three years old at this time.

this time by a terrible disease. Feeling the end approaching, he wished to be moved to his palace at Jericho. There he was in the country, surrounded by palm trees, and in the midst of all the beauties of nature. It was the early spring, but death was at hand. The dying king was full of an insane desire to deprive as many as possible of the life that was slipping away from his own grasp. His dreams were all of murderous intent. The massacre of ten or a dozen children at Bethlehem¹ was a crime such as was little recked of in those days. More mistrustful than ever, with his mind charged with dark suspicions and imaginary fears, burning with the irrational desire to reign for ever, and with an insatiable craving for bloodshed, he ordered the massacre of these little children and of his eldest son. Lastly, he had several of the best citizens and most considerable men of Jerusalem put in prison, with a charge that they were to be assassinated the moment he himself died. Rightly judging that no one would mourn for him, he wished, as he himself said, to secure the shedding of some tears at the time of his death. He breathed his last on March 28th, the day of the Passover feast, but his sanguinary order was not carried out.

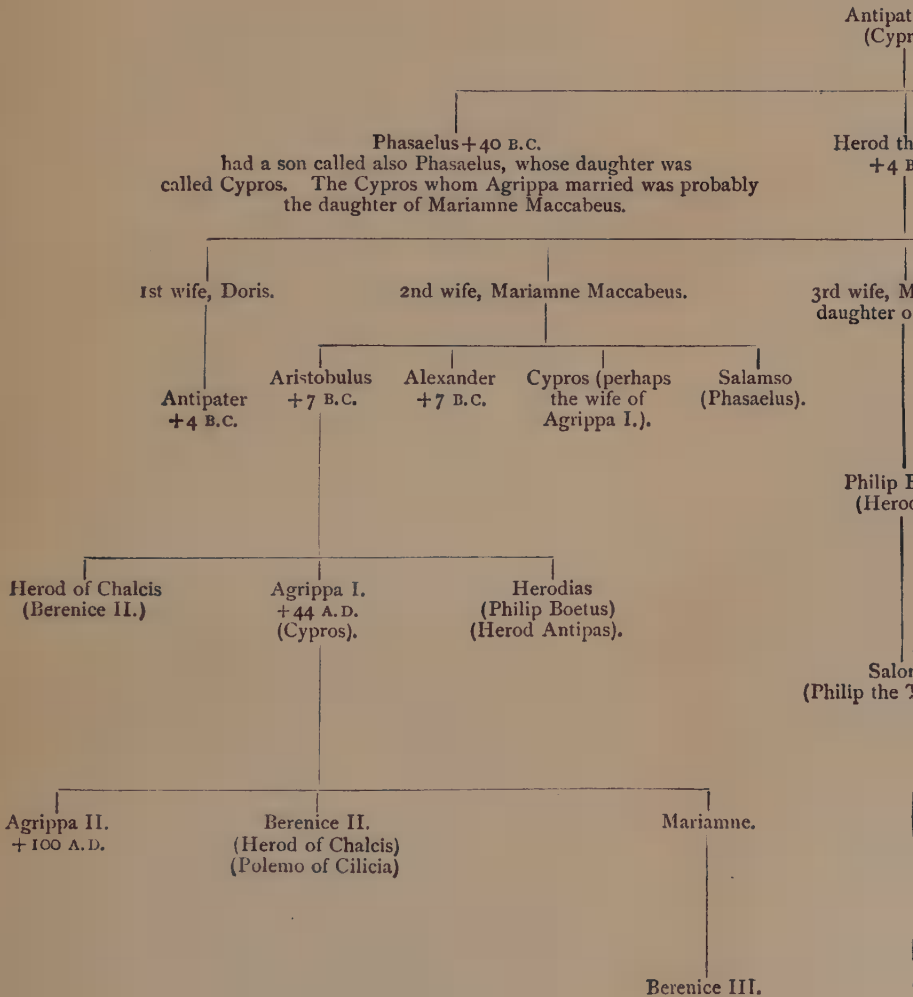
By his last testament, Herod left to his son Archelaus the succession to the throne of Judea, Idumea and Samaria; to Antipas, the tetrarchy of Perea and Galilee; to Philip, the tetrarchy of Batanea, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis and Paneas. We give on the adjoining page a complete table of the genealogy of the Herods.

Delivered from Herod the Great, the Jews remained still as unhappy as before. It must be owned they did not show themselves worthy of freedom, and when the king was not a tyrant keeping them down with a yoke

¹ Matt. ii. 16.

TABLE OF THE GENEALOGY

ACCORDING TO

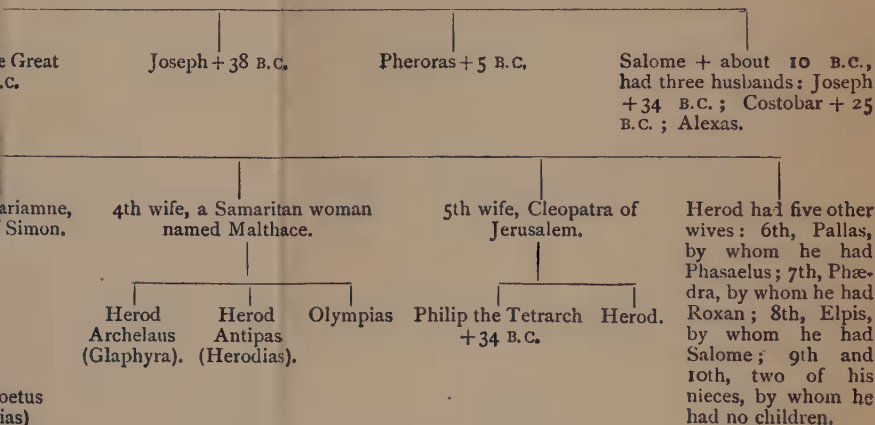


¹ "Ant. Jud.," XIV. 7, § 3; "B.J.," I. 8, § 9; "Ant. Jud.," XVII. 1, § 3; "B.J.,"

LOGY OF THE HERODS,

O JOSEPHUS.¹

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, "I. 28, § 4; "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 5, § 4; XIX. 9, § 1; "B.J.," II. 11, § 6.

of iron, rebellions were constantly breaking out. Under Archelaus they were in a state of perpetual revolt.

Archelaus gave his father a magnificent burial, and took advantage of the occasion to make many promises to the people. But when they asked him to punish the spies of Herod the Great, who had done so much mischief by giving information, he refused, and an uprising followed, in which three thousand Jews perished. Archelaus, meanwhile, had gone to Rome. He wished to lay his father's testament before Augustus. The disorder in Judea grew worse and worse. It is difficult to conceive of the unhappy state of men's minds at this time. They lived in an atmosphere of feverish excitement. The political and religious passions which inflamed the Jews were fired to the utmost. The yoke of Rome became more odious day by day. The hatred of the foreigner was the more deep and fierce because it was hopeless. The Jewish people could do nothing. They had no material resources. They knew it, but were none the wiser. The less they had to expect from earth, the more they hoped from heaven. A miracle, the appearing of Messiah, the *Deus ex machina*—this was their supreme desire, their one hope. All classes of society shared this hope—the hired assassins no less than the pious devotees. All were "waiting for the consolation of Israel." Revolt, without being unanimously approved, was in the air. It was inevitable, and became the normal state of the nation. We are not surprised to learn that the preaching of John the Baptist succeeded; it could not be otherwise under such conditions. It was enough to tell these excited Jews that Messiah was about to appear, and that He would execute terrible judgment upon the ungodly, in order to secure at once a great popular hearing. We must go back in thought

to the worst days of our own national history—to the times of great revolutions, when nothing was normal and the passions of the people were let loose, in order to form a just notion of the state of men's minds during the years which passed from 63 B.C. to 70 A.D., and specially during the lifetime of Christ Himself. Cases of madness were common, as they always are in times of revolution. The demoniacs of whom we read so much in the writers of that day, were generally poor madmen whose brain had been set on fire—who had taken the hallucinations of their own visions as realities, and whose heads had been turned by religious fanaticism.

The early years of the life of Christ were among the worst of the period. Herod, the cruel and hated tyrant, was gone, but the Jews had nothing to hope from his successor; and feeling that he was weaker than his father, they began to agitate. The partial outbreaks which were of frequent recurrence before the great uprising of the year 66, were like the first dull mutterings of a volcano when an eruption is at hand and little streams of lava and upheavings of the surface herald the coming cataclysm.

What actually took place while Archelaus was at Rome? Sabinus, procurator of the legate of Syria, invaded Palestine and took possession of Jerusalem. The Jews offered a fierce resistance. The porches of the Temple were burnt, and Sabinus, shut up in the royal palace, asked succour of the Roman general Varus, who was then in the East. This was the same Varus who was afterwards killed in Germany. Varus came and forced the insurgents to raise the siege of the palace, and carrying off two thousand of them, he had them crucified. Let us just picture to ourselves these two thousand crosses set up at the very gate of Jerusalem, in

the fields, on the highways or the hills, and along the streets. Nor was this all. During this rebellion, which was stirred up by Sabinus, the whole country was in a state of anarchy. One Judas, the son of a Galilæan patriot put to death by Herod the Great, spread terror throughout Galilee. A band of brigands, led by a former slave of Herod, one Simon, sacked the town of Jericho. Lastly, a shepherd called Athrongeus had himself proclaimed king, and with four of his brothers marched through the country at the head of troops of armed men.

Augustus, however, confirmed the will of Herod, in spite of the protests of the Jews. He hoped, no doubt, that the son would be like the father, and would know how to keep the people under. But Archelaus did not succeed in establishing his authority in Judea; and the emperor, deciding to listen to the complaints of his subjects, finally deposed him, and exiled him to Vienne in Gaul (6 A.D.). His estates, that is to say, Judea, Idumea and Samaria, were reduced to a Roman province, annexed to Syria, and administered by a procurator. At length Augustus had peace. As to the Jews, they neither lost nor gained by the change. Tumults might become less frequent, in any case they were more quickly suppressed; but the yoke of the foreigner weighed as heavily as ever. The Roman soldiers, in fact, still held the country by means of garrisons, and these soldiers, and the officers in particular, sent thus into the remote East and set down among these hated Jews, allowed themselves all sorts of licence. No complaint was ever listened to, no act of violence was ever punished or redressed. The Jews who would not submit, took the field. Their undisciplined bands attacked the Romans wherever they met them.

Josephus calls them "a company of robbers, filling all Judea with a piratic war."¹ In speaking thus he tells only a part of the truth. These men were often exasperated patriots, men sincerely religious, whose only mistake was that they let themselves be carried away by fanatical enthusiasm.

In order to understand what the new administration was, we must call to mind the general organisation of the Roman empire at this time. When the Romans did not leave a conquered country to govern itself, they simply annexed it to one of the great provinces into which the Empire was divided. These provinces were of two kinds—imperial and senatorial. The former, which were held directly from the emperor, were the frontier provinces, and these were of great military importance. Judea, Samaria, Idumea, were annexed to the imperial province of Syria.

Each of these imperial provinces was administered by a legate or *proprætor*, and a sort of military governor chosen by the emperor. Under him was a procurator, whose duty it was to receive the taxes. In large and important provinces (and Syria was one of these) this personage combined in his office the administration of war, justice and finance. Pontius Pilate, for example, who was only procurator under the orders of the legate of Syria, had all the powers of a *prætor*. These procurators lived at Cæsarea, and only went up to Jerusalem at the time of the great festivals. The population at those times was so large and turbulent, and tumults were of such frequent occurrence, that their presence was indispensable. They were located either in the Tower of Antonia itself, which served as barracks for the Roman garrison, or very near it: A modest palace had

¹ Jos., "B. J.," II. § 4.

TABLE OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITIES

IN PALESTINE AT THE TIME OF CHRIST.

Life of J. C.	Christian Era.	Emperors.	Judea.	Imperial Legates of Syria.	High Priests	
	37 B.C.	Accession of Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.)	Accession of Herod the Great.	Quintus Varus, <i>who died in the year 9, in Germany.</i> Intervention of Varus in Judea.	1. Ananelus (37-36) 2. Aristobulus (35) Ananel, for the 2nd time (34 and <i>seq.</i>)	
	6 "			Death of Herod the Great. His estates divided between Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip the Tetrarch.		3. Jesus, son of Phabet 4. Simon, son of Boe- thus (24-5)
	4 "					5. Mattathias, son of Theophilus (5-4) 6. Joazar, son of Boethus (4)
	3 "					7. Eleazar, son of Boe- thus (4 and <i>seq.</i>) 8. Jesus, son of Sie Joazar, for the 2nd time
Probable birth of JESUS.	1 A.D.	Accession of Tiberius (14-37)	Archelaus is deposed. <i>Procuretors:</i> 1st, Coponius (6-9) 2nd, Marcus Ambivius (9-12) 3rd, Annius Rufus (12-15) 4th, Valerius Gratus (15-26) 5th, Pontius Pilate (26-36)	Sulpicius Quirinius (?) (3-2 B.C.) (750 or 751). Caius Cæsar (1 B.C.-4 A.D.) Volusius Saturninus (4-5). Sulpicius Quirinius (6-11) (for the second time). Aulus Creticus Silanus (11-17).	Nominated by Herod the Great.	
2 years	4 "					
7 "	6 "					Nominated by Archelaus.
9 "	9 "					
12 "	11 "					Nominated by Quirinius.
	12 "					
	14 "					
	15 "					
	17 "					
	18 "					
	20 "					
	22 "					
	23 "					
	26 "					
30 "	27 "					
Death at 30	30 "					

32	32	Pomponius Flaccus (32-35). Vitellius, father of the emperor of that name (35-39).	14. Jonathan, son of Ananus (36-37)	Nominated by Vitellius.
35	35		15. Theophilus, son of Ananus (37 and seq.)	
36	36			
37	37	Accession of Caligula (37-41)	16. Simon Cantheras, son of Boethus (41 and seq.)	Nominated by Agrippa I.
38	38		17. Matthias, son of Ananus	
39	39	Accession of Claudius (41-54)	18. Elioneus, son of Cantheras	
41	41		19. Joseph, son of Camus (44)	Nominated by Herod of Chalcis.
42	42		20. Ananias, son of Nebedus (about 47-59)	
44	44	Procurators: 8th, Cuspius Fadus (44- 45)		
45	45	9th, Tiberius Alexander <i>Nephew of Philo, a Jew who became a Roman.</i> (45-48)		
48	48	10th, Cumanus (48-52)		
50	50	11th, Felix (brother of <i>Pallas</i>) (52-60)		
52	52			
54	54	Accession of Nero (54-68)	21. Ismael, son of Phabi (about 59-61)	
60	60		22. Joseph Cabi (61-62)	
62	62		23. Ananus (62, three months only)	
63	63		24. Jesus, son of Dam- neus (about 62- 63)	Nominated by Agrippa II.
64	64		25. Jesus, son of Gama- liel (about 63-65)	
67	67	Vespasian with the powers of an imperial legate of Syria. Marcus Antonius Julianus left by Vespasian on his departure from Judea.	26. Matthias, son of Theophilus (65 and seq.)	
68	68	Galba		
69	69	Otho, Vitellius. Vespasian.	27. Phannias, or Phinee- sos, son of Samuel (67-68)	Nominated by the people during the war.
70	70			

been built for them close by, with a large paved hall on the ground floor, which was used as a prætorium, and where they gave judgment. We have already dwelt on this point in describing Jerusalem.

The accompanying table gives a complete list of the imperial legates of Syria, and of the procurators, with the principal dates of the life of Christ. The last column contains the list of the high priests, of whom more anon. When Judea was annexed to Syria, Sulpicius Quirinius had just been made imperial legate of Syria, and Coponius (6-9) was the first procurator of Judea. No important event occurred under his administration nor under that of his three successors—Marcus Ambivius (9-12), Annius Rufus (12-15), Valerius Gratus (15-26).

The census under Quirinius was the signal for a revolt, led by Judas of Galilee. This census was made after the year 6 of the Christian era, that is to say after the deposition of Archelaus.¹ This order to number the people gave great offence in Judea. It was looked upon as one more act of tyranny, a threat to increase the taxation. For a man to give his name, to have it inscribed on the Roman lists, was in a manner to seal his servitude. Judas the Gaulonite, or Judas of Galilee,² put himself at the head of the revolting party. He was born at Gamala, in Gaulonitis, and his rallying cry was this: "We have no master but God; we ought not to pay tribute to Cæsar, nor to acknowledge his authority."³ He had with him a Pharisee named Zadok, a disciple of Shammai, a representative therefore of the conservative

¹ Luke (ii. 1) erroneously places this census in the year of the birth of Christ. It was not really made till some years later.

² Acts v. 37; "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 1, § 6; XX. 5, § 2; "B. J.," II. 8, § 1.

³ "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 1, § 1, 6.

party among the Pharisees. These revolutionists organised themselves and became a formidable body. They took an official name,—the *Kannāim*, that is to say, the zealots, in memory of Phinehas, who was zealous for the law of God.¹ They were only distinguished from other devout Jews by the firmness of their political principles. They consistently put their faith in practice by professing republican views and declaring themselves implacably hostile to royalty at home and to the Romans abroad. Josephus says that they drew to themselves all lovers of liberty.² The insurrectionary movement of 66 was already in germ in this important uprising. One of the apostles of the Lord,³ Simon, seems to have been one of these zealots, a disciple of Judas of Gaulonitis, before attaching himself to Jesus of Nazareth. Eleazar, who was subsequently to play an important part in the siege of Jerusalem, was one of the friends of Judas the Gaulonite. Jesus must have been ten or twelve years old at this time. He was at the age when His soul was opening to the first religious impressions, and when His parents took Him up to the Temple for the first time. We can well imagine that the rumour of the uprising of Judas the Gaulonite would make its way into the carpenter's shop at Nazareth, and the child would hear people talking of this rebellion, of the burning patriotism out of which it sprang and of the terrible repression by which it was brought to an end. Judas was indeed killed. His sons James, Simon, and Menahem, took his place. James and Simon were taken and crucified.⁴ Menahem outlived them and played an important part in the siege of Jerusalem.⁵

¹ Num. xxv. 7, 10.

² "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 1.

³ Luke vi. 15.

⁴ "Ant. Jud.," XX. 5, § 2.

⁵ "B. J.," II. 17, § 8-10; "Vita," § 5.

Pontius Pilate was the third Roman procurator in Judea. He remained in office ten years (26-36). His superior, the legate of Syria, was Ælius Lammia, who was succeeded two years after the death of Christ first by Pomponius Flaccus, then by Vitellius, father of the future emperor of that name. This Pilate (from *pilum*, javelin) was still more detested than his predecessors.¹ He was not a bad man, but he was at once weak and irascible, and did not know how to govern the Jews. It is true that the government of Judea was the most difficult and thankless task that could well be imagined. The Gospel of John—and we note this as a remarkable indication of the genuineness of this Scripture—has preserved for us a portrait true to the life of the moral physiognomy of Pontius Pilate. He was ever as we see him in John's narrative of the trial of Christ, desirous to do well, open to convictions of justice and equity, but vindictive, sceptical, irresolute. He feared above all things to forfeit the confidence of the legate of Syria or the emperor of Rome. These conflicting elements characterized his whole career as a governor. Once he caused the Roman ensigns bearing the image of the emperor to be carried into Jerusalem during the night, a useless bravado, intolerable to the Jews, who could not endure that any token of the imperial divinity should appear in the precincts of the Temple. They remonstrated. They went to Cæsarea to importune Pilate, and he yielded, and withdrew the ensigns. Later on he took money from the treasury of the Temple to build an aqueduct, which was to convey water into Jerusalem. A tumult followed, and Pilate sent into the midst of the insurgent crowd some Roman soldiers disguised as Jews. These suddenly unmasking, turned upon the mob, and a

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 3, § 1.

fearful carnage ensued. He delighted in deeds of violence, and the Gospel speaks of a massacre which he ordered in the Temple, before the very altar of sacrifice, mingling the blood of some ill-fated Galileans with that of the sacrificial beasts. It was at the Passover feast, 30 A.D., on Friday, April 7th,¹ that he ratified the sentence of death pronounced by the Jews against Jesus Christ.

After the death of Christ, Pontius Pilate still governed Judea for six years. He finally lost his post through a blunder. He wished to prevent the Samaritans meeting on Mount Gerizim. They were searching (so they said) for some sacred vessels belonging to Moses' tabernacle, which they believed to have been buried there by the Romans. Pilate sent soldiers to massacre them. This was too much, and this time the complaint of the unhappy Samaritans prevailed. Vitellius, legate of Syria, dismissed Pontius Pilate and sent him to Rome to clear himself. He only arrived there after the death of Tiberius (37), and Eusebius² gives us a tradition to the effect that Caligula banished him to Gaul, where in despair he killed himself. Such was this man, sometimes cruel, often unequal to his duty, but not so wicked as the Church has thought him. We shall consider presently, in speaking of the Sanhedrim, the share of responsibility which rests upon him in the trial and condemnation of Jesus. His successor was Marcellus.

The other sons of Herod, Antipas and Philip the Tetrarch, managed their affairs better than Archelaus, or rather, not having to govern Jerusalem, they were not involved in the same difficulties. Neither of them was

¹ For a justification of this date, see Book II. ch. xv., *The Principal Dates in the Life of Christ*.

² "H. E.," II. 7.

dismissed by the Romans. Antipas, as we have said, ruled over Galilee and Perea. Jesus, living at Nazareth, was therefore one of his subjects. Philip was tetrarch of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Paneas. He built a town in place of the village of Bethsaida, and called it Julias. He also changed the name of Paneas to Cæsarea Philippi. He reigned thirty-seven years, and died at Julias (34). This prince certainly contrasted with the rest of his family in the mildness of his manners and character. He left no children, and his provinces were united to Syria. Philip is only named once in the New Testament.¹

Antipas, his brother, was also tetrarch, and not king, as Mark erroneously calls him.² The Jordan divided his tetrarchy into two parts, Galilee and Perea. He was the true son of Herod the Great both in character and manners, *ἡσυχίαν ἀγαπῶν*, says Josephus. Less active than his father, he was, like him, feeble, cruel and voluptuous. Christ compared him to a fox.³ From time to time Antipas was obliged to repel by force the invasions of his territory by the Arabs on the borders of Perea. Hence he was eager, for political reasons, to marry the daughter of their king Aretas. He thought this would be a better defence against such inroads than war or fortresses. Perhaps Augustus himself may have urged him into this marriage.⁴

Antipas, like all the Herods, loved luxury and prodigality. He wished to have a splendid capital, and a royal residence. He chose its site in the most beautiful part of Galilee, on the western shore of the lake, and near the springs of Emmaus. He filled the town with foreigners, reared many public buildings, and gave it, as

¹ Luke iii. 1.

² Mark ii. 14.

³ Luke xiii. 32.

⁴ Suetonius, "Aug.," ch. 48.

far as possible, the appearance of a Gentile city. In honour of Tiberius, he named the place Tiberias.

Towards the close of his life he fell into the power of one of his nieces, Herodias, of whom we read in the New Testament. He made her acquaintance on a journey to Rome, the exact date of which is not known. She had married one of her uncles, Philip, the brother of Antipas, who was not named in Herod's last will, and who lived in Rome as a simple citizen. This ambitious woman followed him to Galilee with her daughter Salome; and Antipas, putting away the daughter of Aretas, and sending her back to her father, lived openly with Herodias.

Aretas marched against his son-in-law, and defeated him. Antipas asked Tiberius for aid, and Vitellius was ordered to go to his succour. It was at this time that John the Baptist, who had been languishing in one of the dungeons of the castle of Macherus, was put to death at the instigation of Herodias, for his courageous words, "It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife."¹

Josephus has preserved for us some details of the preaching of John the Baptist, which are probably modified to suit the tastes of the Greeks and Romans, his readers. The indications that we find in the Gospels are doubtless more trustworthy. As to the true causes of the imprisonment of John, we are disposed to believe with Josephus, that political reasons had much to do with it. John preached the coming of Messiah with a passion and power which might easily give offence to Herod. His hearers, if not he himself, failed to keep politics apart from religion in their hope of a coming deliverance, and allusions to Antipas, witting or unwitting, are easily traceable in the words of John. He was

¹ Mark vi. 14-30.

shut up in the huge fortress of Macherus, where the tetrarch was residing on account of the war with Aretas. Here John the Baptist met his death.¹

After the death of Tiberius, however, Vitellius did not carry out his orders. Caligula, on his accession, made Agrippa I., the brother of Herodias, and the emperor's favourite and companion in debauch, king of Judea. The series of procurators of Judea was thus interrupted, and Agrippa soon reunited under his own sceptre all the provinces of his grandfather, Herod the Great. Herodias indeed, furious that her brother should have a higher title than her husband, urged the latter to make a journey to Rome, and demand the diadem. The demand was rejected, and soon the intrigues of Agrippa I. deprived Antipas of his estates. Condemned to exile, he went to Lyons in Gaul, followed by Herodias, who remained faithful to him. He afterwards passed into Spain, where he died. His tetrarchy was added to the kingdom of Agrippa I.

The reign of this prince was comparatively peaceful. There were no riots of importance under his administration. He knew how to make himself beloved, and played all his life the part of a fervent Jew. He enlarged Jerusalem, and built the wall of Agrippa, of which the remains stand to this day. But the tranquillity of the nation was only apparent; it was the delusive calm which generally precedes a great storm, and after Agrippa's death (44) the tumults recommenced. Theudas began to preach a coming deliverance, and called on the multitude to follow him into the desert. He proclaimed that he would go over Jordan

¹ M. Gustave Flaubert has given in his story of Herodias, a wonderful description of Macherus, and of the death of John the Baptist. "*Trois contes*," by G. Flaubert. Paris, 1877.

dryshod.¹ He perished and four hundred of his followers with him.

The succession of Roman procurators began again, and each in turn seemed more detested than his forerunner: Cuspius Fadus; Tiberius Alexander, a Jew who had turned Roman, a renegade therefore, and the crucifier of the two sons of Judas of Galilee; Cumanus. Under him began the preliminaries of the final insurrection, and the revolt of the zealots at Jerusalem, in which twenty thousand were massacred.² Under Felix, the freedman of Claudius and brother of the famous Pallas, sicarii armed with poignards were introduced, to strike down any one in the crowd who appeared to them suspicious.³ The air was full of terrors; honest people were afraid to go outside their own doors. False prophets, magicians, pseudo-Messiahs, arose on every hand, and excited the populace to frenzy.⁴ One of these impostors, an Egyptian, assembled thirty thousand men on the Mount of Olives. This vast army was cut to pieces.⁵

The wretchedness in the city was frightful, for the works in the Temple were finished, and eighteen thousand labourers were without food. Festus succeeded to Felix, and Agrippa II. was made king, but he had only a semblance of power and no real authority. Festus

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XX. 5, § 1.

² Jos., "Ant. Jud.," XX. 5, § 3. It is clear that these figures, given by Josephus, are much overdrawn.

³ Mishnah, "Sanhedrim," IX. 6; see also John xvi. 2; Jos., "B. J.," IV. and foll.

⁴ On these continual seditions, see "Ant. Jud.," XVII., XVIII.; "B. J.," I. II.

⁵ When St. Paul was arrested at Jerusalem, he was for a moment confounded with this Egyptian. Acts xxi. 38.

soon disappeared. Albinus, his successor, allowed himself to be bought by the malefactors. His administration was peculiarly odious. "He was himself," says Josephus, "the very chief of robbers." Under Gessius Florus, the last of these procurators, the Jews of Cæsarea seized at the first pretext that presented itself for a rising. The Jews in Jerusalem did the same, and three thousand six hundred and thirty men, women and children were massacred or crucified. But this time repression was unavailing. The insurrection spread, and neither the procurator nor the legate himself, Cestius Gallus, could gain a hearing. Agrippa II. came himself to harangue the Jews in person. He besought them to be quiet. He showed them the folly of their conduct. He only received insults in reply, and the revolution spread all over the country (66). Eleven hundred thousand Jews must have perished in this final struggle, according to Josephus; six hundred thousand, according to Tacitus. The insurgents having made themselves masters of Jerusalem and of the Sanhedrim, turned that assembly into a sort of national convention. It was presided over by Simon, son of Gamaliel the Elder, a very different man from his father. He had coins struck with the impress, "Simon Nāsi of Israel," and on the obverse, "the freedom of Israel." It was a republic, with a dictatorship of the public weal.

A party of moderates sent a secret deputation to Gessius Florus, beseeching him to interfere while there was yet time. But the demagogues, led by one Eleazar, son of the high priest Ananias,¹ heard of what

¹ Ananias was no longer the officiating high priest, but he still retained great influence over the priestly party. The real high priest was an obscure man called Matthias, "Ant. Jud.," XX. 9, § 7.

had been done. Eleazar accused the moderates of treason, and civil war broke out in Jerusalem. The radicals were victorious. They took possession of the Upper City, burnt the royal palaces, seized the public archives, and destroyed all letters of credit. "We must have done," said the revolutionaries, "with the aristocrats, the reactionaries, and the Sadducees." Eleazar pursued his father, the high priest Ananias, who had to take refuge with many of the Sadducees in the sewers. They were discovered and put to death (Aug. 14th, 66).

Soon after the Tower of Antonia was taken, and its garrison massacred. The insurgents were now masters of Jerusalem, and consequently of the whole country. Wild hopes of success now fired the brains of these madmen. The Romans, in retaliation for this gigantic rebellion, massacred the Jews scattered through the empire. Twenty thousand perished at Cæsarea, thirteen thousand at Scythopolis, two thousand five hundred at Ascalon, ten thousand at Damascus, two thousand at Ptolemais, fifty thousand at Alexandria. The insurgents in Judea, in their turn, replied by making all Gentiles outlaws (Feb. 9th, 67).

Cestius Gallus, who was morally compelled to act, made a feint of invading the country. He went up to the walls of Jerusalem. Josephus says, that with a little energy, he might have put an end to the war; but he dared not provoke the Jews, and retired without striking a blow. The Jews, emboldened by this retreat, pursued and harassed him, changing the retreat into a rout.

More and more elated by this victory, the insurgents organised the defence of the whole country. A committee of intelligent and moderate men met, and appointed general commissaries who were to raise the provinces. Josephus, the future historian, was en-

trusted with the post of greatest danger—Galilee. It was then that the Romans, exasperated by the audacity of this petty nation,¹ resolved to make an end of it, and sent against it their general, Vespasian.

We have already told, in speaking of Josephus, how instead of fulfilling his trust and defending Galilee, he lost it. This irreparable loss led to another outbreak of civil war in Jerusalem. The war party again carried the day. Two insurgents, John of Gischala and Simon ben Gioras, seized the reins of power, filled the prisons with those whom they suspected and had them massacred. The old zealots now became the moderates. They are the Girondists of the revolution, while the sicarii with John and Simon at their head, are the Jacobins. As to the priestly party, they were regarded as traitors to their country, and were all condemned to death. It was the reign of terror. Annas, the son of the high priest of that name mentioned in the Gospel, was massacred in the terrible slaughter which put an end to the Jewish priesthood.

The Pharisees, the conservatives of the school of Hillel, would have also perished if they had not succeeded in escaping from the city by an ingenious stratagem. The terrorists kept the gates, but Yochanan ben Zacchar, the leader of these moderates, feigned himself dead, and was placed by his disciples on a bier. The funeral cortège excited no suspicion; it was allowed to pass the gates; and thus they succeeded in escaping and reaching Yabneh.² The Christians also effected their escape at this time and took refuge in Pella.

Nero, however, was dead (June 9th, 68). His three

¹ Tacitus, "Ann.," Book V. ch. 10.

² Midrash, "Koheleth," VII. 11.

successors, Otho, Galba, and Vitellius, scarcely reigned, and Vespasian was proclaimed emperor by his legions. He started for Rome, leaving his son Titus to carry on the war, and Titus laid siege to Jerusalem.

Within the city frightful anarchy prevailed. The insurgents were divided into three parties, all at war with one another. Their respective leaders were: John of Gischala, Simon ben Gioras, and a third frenzied fanatic, Eleazar ben Simon. The streets were reeking with blood; and while the inhabitants were slaughtering one another like madmen, the Romans were carrying on the siege with that admirable strategy of which they had so long possessed the secret, and which made their victory certain. By means of most skilfully planned works, they made the blockade complete by the 18th of April, 70. At the end of a month, they were within the outermost wall, and the north of the city was in their power. They then attacked the Tower of Antonia, and Titus, at the instance of Berenice, made a last attempt at conciliation. Josephus was sent to the besieged. He tried to parley, but they received him with a volley of stones. Titus, irritated by this failure, resolved to crucify five hundred prisoners daily, and soon there was not enough wood to make crosses. Famine and pestilence ravaged the city. Horrible stories are told of mothers eating their own children. On June 17th, the perpetual sacrifice in the Temple ceased. There were no more victims to offer; there were no more priests to present the sacrifice. The Romans still advanced steadily. They took all the city except the Temple, which stood like an impregnable fortress, the last refuge of the insurgents. In the month of August the Roman battering rams began to play on the great walls, and made breaches in them.

One day early in August,¹ a Roman soldier threw a lighted brand upon the roof of the sanctuary and set fire to it. The porches were already burnt, the sanctuary was soon reduced to ashes, and then there remained nothing of the city but a few dismantled towers, the western wall of the Temple, and the massive foundations built into the rock, which date from the time of Solomon, and are yet standing. Still John of Gischala and Simon ben Gioras lived and fought on. They occupied the last quarter of the Upper City. A final battle was fought on September 6th, and all was ended. Simon ben Gioras was made prisoner and reserved for the triumph of Titus at Rome. He was afterwards scourged and crucified. The other leaders of the insurrection were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

Josephus relates that Titus left one Terent'us Rufus² in the country. This is no doubt that Turnus Rufus of whom it is said, "On the 9th of the month Ab, Turnus Rufus, the impious Edomite, drew the plough over the site of the Temple and its precincts."³ And elsewhere "The city of Jerusalem was ploughed up."⁴ Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Christ, "There shall not be left one stone upon another."⁵

¹ Saturday 9th or 10th of the month Ab ("Ta'anith," IV. 6, "Dion Cassius," 66, 7). Josephus says that Titus was personally opposed to the destruction of the Temple. Sulpicius Severus, in the fourth century, affirms on the contrary, that Titus was determined to burn it down, in order to put an end to the rebellions of the Jews. It is possible that Sulpicius Severus may have taken his information from the lost history of Tacitus.

² "B. J.," VII. 2, § 1.

³ Maimon., "Ta'anith," V.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV.

⁵ Matt. xxiv. 2. Some walls however are still standing, two or three towers, and perhaps also the gate called now the Golden Gate.

It is impossible not to pay a closing tribute to the patriotism of the Jews and to the greatness of this unhappy people, the victim of its religious belief and of the gigantic dream of universal renovation, which for so many centuries it had cherished. It must needs die. The nationality must disappear in order that the religious idea, first Jewish, now Christian, freed from all that localised and limited it to a certain country and city, to a temple and a race, might be spread throughout the world. It could only conquer the world as it became spiritualised, and it could only be spiritualised by the passing away of all that made Israel a nation. The death agonies of expiring Judaism are the premonition of the passing away of the ancient world. They anticipate its doom, and they are succeeded by other convulsions, long and terrible, of the Roman empire, all which are the birth-throes of the modern world and of the establishment of Christianity.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SANHEDRIM.

Its Origin.—Number of Members.—Its President.—The *ἀρχιερεῖς*.
—The Functions of the Sanhedrim.—Upon Whom Rests the
Responsibility of the Death of Jesus.—The Judicial Com-
mission.—The Hall of Session.—Where was Jesus Tried.—
The Provincial Sanhedrim.

THE Romans, carrying out their usual policy, which they had always found successful, allowed the Jews to retain their religious authorities, their peculiar tribunals—the Sanhedrim.

In the first century, the administration of public affairs and of justice was divided between the procurators and the tetrarchs on the one hand, and the local authorities on the other. It is sometimes difficult to fix the limits of their respective functions. Subject to the supreme jurisdiction of the procurators, however, the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, of which we are about to speak particularly, was occupied almost exclusively with religious questions and internal affairs. This Sanhedrim was a permanent assembly, a senate,¹ having its seat in Jerusalem. Its powers had been very extensive under

¹ There was not beside the Sanhedrim a second assembly, a senate, as has been wrongly supposed from Acts v. 21, “*συνέδριον καὶ γερουσίαν*.” This word *γερουσία* is only an explanation of the word *συνέδριον* for the benefit of Gentile readers.

the Maccabees, and we shall presently see what were its functions in the first century. It is needless to say that Jewish tradition traced back its institution to Moses, and held that it was clearly set forth in the law ;¹ but it is equally needless to say that there was nothing in common between the Sanhedrim and the men of whom Moses speaks, who were chosen as representatives of the people.² Nor is there any connection between this assembly and that which was subsequently formed. Even under Ezra, the Sanhedrim had as yet no existence. Ezra created what is called "the Great Synagogue," an improper term, which confounds that institution with the synagogues properly so-called. It should rather be "the Great Assembly." This lasted until the year 300 B.C. It was a college of scribes to settle questions of theology.³ The Sanhedrim, on the contrary, was a governing body. We find the first trace of its existence under Antiochus Epiphanes (223-187). Josephus speaks indeed of a *γερουσία*, that is to say a senate,⁴ which was then acting. It is possible, therefore, that the Ptolemies may have permitted the Jews to form a Sanhedrim, in order to gain their affection by giving them the semblance of self-government. But the power of this assembly must have been very limited under their administration and that of the Seleucidæ. It is evident that only under the Asmonæans can this *γερουσία* have become powerful. From 162 to 130 we

¹ Num. xi. 16 was specially quoted.

² See 1 Kings viii. 1 ; xx. 7 ; 2 Kings xxiii. 1 ; Ezek. xiv. 1 ; xx. 1 ; Ezra v. 9 ; vi. 7, 14 ; x. 8.

³ The creation of the Great Synagogue by Ezra is seriously questioned by many modern critics. We cannot share their opinion. The exact functions of this assembly are indeed almost unknown ; but its existence seems to us indubitable.

⁴ "Ant. Jud.," XII. 3, § 3.

find no mention of its existence. Everything indicates that it was Hyrcanus, who in 130 B.C. organised or re-organised the Sanhedrim. He made it a sort of national representation;¹ before this time the power belonged almost exclusively to the high priest.

The Romans, when they took possession of Palestine (63), allowed the Sanhedrim to remain, but curtailed its powers. We find the word *συνέδριον* occurring for the first time in the Psalms of Solomon, a work composed about this period. Josephus also uses it,² when he tells us how the young Herod was cited before the Sanhedrim as having overstepped his powers (47 B.C.). The Sanhedrim thus gave its last sign of independence. Subsequently Herod, making himself conqueror and master of the city, took cruel vengeance, decimating his former judges, and the Sanhedrim became thenceforth as docile as a flock of sheep, and ever ready to endorse the acts of its master. Independence was to be found from this time only in the schools of the Pharisees. The Pharisees were, however, in a minority in the Sanhedrim, and the Sadducean majority were ever complaisant to the ruling powers.

The Sanhedrim had an official existence in the first century under the Herods and the procurators. It met and deliberated, and had a semblance of authority.³ It had seventy-one members. This figure is given us in

¹ 1 Macc. xii. 6; 2 Macc. i. 10; iv. 44; xi. 27. See Judith iv. 8; xv. 8. The Sanhedrim is also called *πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ*. 1 Macc. i. 27; vii. 33; xi. 23; xii. 53, etc.

² "Ant. Jud.," XIV. 9, § 3-5.

³ "Ant. Jud." XV. 6, §§ 2-7; Matt. v. 22; xxvi. 59; Mark xiv. 55; xv. 1; John xi. 47; Acts iv. 15; Luke xxii. 66, where the Sanhedrim is called *πρεσβυτέριον*. See also Acts xxii. 5. In Acts v. 21 the Sanhedrim is called *γερονσία*. See also Acts vi. 12, and foll.; xxii. 30; xxiii. 1 and foll.; xxiv. 20. Joseph of Arimathea, one of its

the Mishnah.¹ It is borrowed from the law,² and can scarcely be disputed. Josephus confirms it when he says that he established in Galilee a council of seventy elders after the pattern of that in Jerusalem.³ The president was the seventy-first.

Hence arises a great question. Who was president of the Sanhedrim? Was the high priest president by right? or were the two offices, those of high priest and president of the Sanhedrim, distinct? We have no hesitation in replying that during the life of Christ, the presidency belonged to the high priest. When Jesus was condemned, Caiaphas presided over the Sanhedrim. There was not, as has been thought, another president, whose authority was annulled by the preponderating influence of Caiaphas. Josephus and the New Testament decide this question with absolute clearness. Let us quote the testimony of Josephus. He says: "After the death of Herod and Archelaus his son, the government became an aristocracy, and the high priests were entrusted with a dominion over the nation."⁴ He says elsewhere, that the high priest administering the law, decides doubtful cases, and carries into execution the sentences pronounced upon the condemned.⁵

In another passage he describes still more particularly how Ananias fulfilled the two functions of high priest and president of the Sanhedrim.⁶ In the New Testa-

members, is called *βουλευτής*. Mark xv. 43; Luke xxiii. 50. Josephus also calls the Sanhedrim *βουλή*, "B. J.," II. 15, § 6; II. 16, § 2.

¹ "Sanhedrim," I. 6.

² Num. xi. 16.

³ "B. J.," II. 20, § 5.

⁴ "Ant. Jud.," XX. § 10, close of chapter.

⁵ "Contr. Ap.," II. 22. See also "Ant. Jud.," IV. 8, § 14.

⁶ "Ant. Jud.," XX. 9, § 1.

ment there is an abundance of conclusive passages to this effect.¹

Lightfoot, in his "*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*," and many critics after him, among others, Mr. Cohen, in his book on the Pharisees, are under the mistaken impression that in the time of Christ the presidency of the Sanhedrim belonged to the members of the family of Hillel. They say Hillel was appointed for life, and was succeeded by his son Simeon and his grandson Gamaliel. Several passages from the Talmuds are cited in support of this opinion.

Let us look carefully at these passages. In the tract "*Chagigah*"² we find two parallel lists of names: Yosē ben Yo'eser and Yosē ben Yochanan; Yosē ben Perachya and Nittai' ha'arbēṭe; Ye'udah ben Tabbaï and Shim'on ben Shattach; Abtalyon and Shema'yah; Shammaï and Hillel. This double list of duumvirs occurs also in the first chapter of the "*Pirke Aboth*." These personages were called the couples (*zūgoth*), and the tract "*Chagigah*," after enumerating them, adds: "The one were presidents, the other vice-presidents of the Tribunal" (that is, of the Sanhedrim). "The president was called Nāsi (Prince), and the vice-president Ab Beth Din (Father of the Tribunal), because he presided in judicial cases."³

This closing observation seems to us correct. There were duumvirs:⁴ Hillel was certainly Nāsi (prince), and we cannot see why this term should not have signified president of the Sanhedrim. The duumvirs were

¹ Acts v. 17 and foll.; vii. 1; ix. 1, 2; xxii. 5; xxiii. 2; xxiv. 1.

² "*Chagigah*," II. 2.

³ We find these names in the following tracts of the Mishnah: "*Horayoth*," II. 5-7, III. 1, 3; "*Eduyyoth*," V. 6; "*Ta'anith*," II. 1.

⁴ Of these we shall have more to say, Book II. ch. ii.

probably also the heads of the schools of doctors of the law, and the Talmudic tradition is no doubt right in often identifying them with the presidents of the Sanhedrim. When Hillel was appointed Nāsi by acclamation, we believe that he was raised at once to the presidency of the schools of the doctors and to that of the Sanhedrim.¹ We therefore accept as correct this passage of the "Chagigah."

But in some of the other tracts the Talmudic tradition to which we have just referred grows and receives many additions, and then it falls into error. This neither Lightfoot nor Cohen has observed. According to the Talmud of Babylon,² the presidency of the Sanhedrim remained in the family of Hillel. He was succeeded by Simeon his son, and then by Gamaliel the Elder, the teacher of St. Paul. Gamaliel also left his authority to his son. This would give us an uninterrupted list of presidents of the Sanhedrim from the time of the Maccabees to the destruction of Jerusalem. But this is in direct contradiction to Josephus and the New Testament, and Mr. Cohen³ is mistaken when he affirms that Simeon, son of Hillel and father of Gamaliel, was president of the Sanhedrim in the year of the death of Jesus. According to Lightfoot,⁴ the president was Gamaliel himself. We have ourselves elsewhere fallen into this error,⁵ but the fallacy is obvious. We know what manner of man Gamaliel was. He was even more liberal than his grandfather, and we can hardly suppose that as presi-

¹ Talmud, Jesus, "Pesachin," VI. 33 *a*.

² "Shabbath," fol. 15 *a*.

³ "The Pharisees."

⁴ "Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ," p. 462.

⁵ "Les idées religieuses en Palestine à l'époque de Jésus Christ," pp. 198, 199.

dent of the Sanhedrim, he would have humbled himself before the high priest, and allowed him to decide in his stead. Moreover, the Book of Acts¹ speaks of Gamaliel as a doctor of the law, and a member of the Sanhedrim, not as its president. Josephus² speaks of Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, and says that at the time of the war he was a member of the Sanhedrim. He does not say that he presided over it.

There are then two traditions in the Talmud: the older, which affirms that the celebrated doctors were presidents and vice-presidents of the Sanhedrim, up to Hillel and Shammai inclusive, but says nothing about their successors—this tradition we hold to be true; and the more modern, which affirms that the presidency remained in the family of Hillel—this is false. And here we feel bound to differ from Schürer, Derenbourg, and others, who reject both traditions alike. Schürer even thinks this passage an interpolation. We hold that the earlier tradition is historically exact. According to this tradition, the high priest was not originally president of the Sanhedrim, and had not been so before the death of Hillel.³ But at that time he became president, and held the office till the fall of Jerusalem. Among the passages from Josephus which we have quoted, there is one which has not been sufficiently remarked, the meaning of which seems to us to be very

¹ Acts v. 34.

² "Vita," § 38, 39.

³ The passage ("Ant. Jud.," XIV. 9, 3, § 5) which Schürer quotes to prove that Hyrcanus was at the same time high priest and president of the Sanhedrim (47 B.C.) is not conclusive, for Hyrcanus seems to us to act rather as Asmonean king than as president of the Sanhedrim. As to the passage in 1 Macc. xiv. 44, which says that it was forbidden to call any assembly without the sanction of the high priest, this is very vague, and inadequate to prove that there was an effective presidency of that assembly from this period.

clear and confirmatory of our opinion. "After the death of Herod and Archelaus, his son, the government became an aristocracy, and the high priests were entrusted with a dominion over the nation."¹ They had not then been so entrusted before; this passage seems to us conclusive. The presidency of the high priest began then, precisely at the death of Hillel. His death was the signal for a change in the presidency. It was taken away from the Pharisees and given to the Sadducees, and not only to the Sadducees, but among them to the high priest. Let us observe that this change coincides precisely with the beginning of the reign of the Roman procurators. Archelaus was banished just as Hillel died. Now the Romans always favoured the conservative Sadducees, and detested the liberals and patriots of the school of Hillel. No doubt they insisted upon the change being made. On this hypothesis, the first high priest and president of the Sanhedrim would have been the famous Annas, father-in-law to Caiaphas. It is easy to imagine this man, able, intelligent, unscrupulous, undertaking this office after several insignificant high priests who had allowed Hillel to preside. The authority of the Sadducees became at this time very great, or at any rate it was the official authority. The Sanhedrim lost all independence, and it is worthy of remark that the condemnation of Jesus may have been owing solely to this substitution of the family of Annas for that of Hillel. It is permissible to doubt whether the death of Jesus could have been compassed if the old state of things had continued, and if Gamaliel, the wise and tolerant, had been president of the tribunal before which Jesus was arraigned.

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XX. 10 to end. This is the text: "*τὴν δὲ προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐπέπιστεύοντο.*"

Annas,¹ the high priest from the year 7 to 14, was deposed, but he retained his title and authority.² He had considerable influence. His son-in-law, Caiaphas, was high priest from 23 to 36. Deposed in 36 by Vitellius, legate of Syria, he was succeeded by Theophilus, son of Annas. Five of the sons of this man were also in succession high priests and presidents of the Sanhedrim. This is "the priestly family" it was said, as if the priesthood was hereditary in it.³ For fifty years it held the priest's office. Annas, whose high priesthood had lasted so long, was looked upon as a most fortunate man.⁴

The Sanhedrim numbered, as we have said, seventy-one members, including the president. The New Testament distinguishes in this assembly between the high priests (*ἀρχιερεῖς*), the elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*), and the scribes (*γραμματεῖς*).⁵ The Mishnah also gives us a similar division. The Sanhedrim is composed,⁶ it says "of priests, Levites, and Israelites whose daughters are permitted to marry the priests." By this last expression it means Israelites who, by producing their genealogical tables, could prove the purity of their Jewish origin. Such members were found in all classes of society.

It is sufficiently difficult to determine the exact meaning of the word high priests in the plural, in the New Testament, for there was only one high priest at a time. We may suppose that the high priest who had quitted

¹ *Ἀννας* in the New Testament, *Ἀναῖος* in Josephus. These are only two Greek transcriptions of the Hebrew Hanan or Khanan.

² Luke iii. 2 ; Acts iv. 6.

³ "Ant. Jud.," XV. 3, § 1.

⁴ "Ant. Jud.," XX. 9, § 1.

⁵ Mark. xiv. 53 ; xv. 1 ; Matt. xxvi. 3, 57, 59 ; xxviii. 11, 12 ; Luke xxii. 66 ; Acts iv. 5, 6.

⁶ "Sanhedrim," IV. 2.

office, may have still retained the title. Josephus indeed always gives the title, ἀρχιερεύς, to those who have been high priests. Now in the time of Herod, there were six of these, and eight during the lifetime of Christ. The high priest had indeed an indelible character; he was considered to be nominated for life, and when some one else took his office, he retained in retirement certain prerogatives of which he could not be deprived.¹ This explanation would be entirely satisfactory if the New Testament did not call men high priests who had never held the office, as for example, John,² Alexander,³ and Sceva.⁴ Josephus does the same.⁵ Did this name then designate the heads of the twenty-four classes of priests? We have no proof that it did. The most probable hypothesis is that the name was given to the members of the families from which the high priests sprang. The high priesthood was, in fact, a prerogative of certain families⁶ (for example the family of Annas). The word ἀρχιερεύς would thus have a triple meaning; in the singular it would signify the high priest, properly so called; in the plural, those who had been high priests; and lastly, those who might become so, as members of the families which alone had a right to the priesthood.

The name πρεσβύτεροι, was the general name of the other members. They were not necessarily laymen, and more than one priest might be found among them. As to the γραμματεῖς, they were the scribes, and of them we shall speak in another chapter. We have said that

¹ "Horayyoth," III. 1, 4.

² Acts iv. 6.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* xix. 14.

⁵ "B. J.," II. 20, § 4. Jesus the son of Sapphias, τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἕνα. See also "Vita," § 39; "B. J.," IV. 9, § 11; V. 13, § 1.

⁶ "B. J.," IV. 3, § 6; Josephus is speaking in this passage of high priests chosen not from the priestly families.

the majority of the Sanhedrim were Sadducees. All the priests, among others, were Sadducees, and it was a rare thing in the first century to find a priest who was a Pharisee. This party, however, must have been largely represented in the assembly. Josephus and the New Testament show us Pharisees and Sadducees mingling without distinction of party.¹

The functions of the Sanhedrim were very numerous. It passed the laws, and was therefore a legislative body. It executed justice, and possessed the most extensive judicial powers. Before its tribunal false prophets were arraigned. It dealt with questions of doctrine, and when occasion arose could exercise the functions of a council. It was moreover charged with certain details of great importance at this period; it watched over the priestly families and controlled the marriages made in them—the daughters, as we have said, could only marry Israelites.² It kept in its archives the genealogical tables of the principal Jewish families.³ It authorised wars, fixed the limits of towns, and alone had the power of modifying their precincts⁴ and those of the Temple. It settled the calendar and the new moons; this duty devolved on the president and three members.⁵ In brief it was at once parliament and council.

In the New Testament we see Christ brought before the Sanhedrim as a *blasphemer*,⁶ the apostles Peter and John as false prophets and seducers of the people;⁷ the deacon Stephen as having blasphemed against God;⁸ the apostle Paul as subverting the law.⁹

¹ Acts iv. 1 and foll.; v. 17; xxiii. 6; v. 34; Jos., "B. J.," II. 17, § 3; "Vita," § 38, 39.

² "Middoth," to the end.

³ Jos., "Contr. Ap.," I. § 2.

⁴ "Sanhedrim," I. a.

⁵ *Ibid.* X. b.

⁶ Matt. xxvi. 65.

⁷ Acts iv. and v.

⁸ Acts vi. 13 and foll.

⁹ Acts xxiii. 1, 2.

Had the Romans taken away from the Sanhedrim the right of putting any one to death, and had they reserved to themselves the power of ratifying before its execution any sentence involving capital punishment?

From the account in the Gospels of the condemnation of Jesus, it would appear that it was so. The Jews cried before Pilate, "It is not lawful for us to put any one to death,"¹ and the Roman authority presided at the crucifixion. But was not Stephen condemned and executed by the Sanhedrim?² Did not Jesus Christ say in His teaching, "They shall deliver you up to the synagogues and to prison and to death"?³ It may indeed be said that this last passage is not entirely conclusive. It does not necessarily imply that the right of life and death belonged to the synagogue. As to the death of Stephen, that may be regarded as an irregularity. He was put to death without a trial; it was a murder committed by a fanatical crowd. It took place just at the time when Pilate was about to be deposed for his excessive severity to the Jews. We believe, however, that the Sanhedrim had the strict right to condemn and execute Stephen, and that it might also have executed Jesus. Why then did it ask Pilate to ratify the sentence? Because it did not wish the death of Jesus to be on religious, but on political grounds. The Talmuds clearly explain this: "Forty years before the destruction of the Temple," says the Mishnah, "the right of pronouncing capital sentences was taken away from Israel."⁴ By whom? Clearly by the Romans, Forty years before the destruction of the Temple, brings us exactly to the year 30, the same year in which the

¹ John xviii. 31, confirmed by "Ant. Jud. XX. 9, § 1.

² Acts vii. ³ Mark xiii. 9-13; Luke xxi. 12-17.

⁴ "Sanhedrim," fol. 24, 2.

Jews said to Pilate : "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." But we shall see that these words were inexact. The right of capital punishment was not really taken away from the Sanhedrim ; the Sanhedrim itself renounced it. In fact, it was just at this time that it ceased to hold its sessions in the usual place within the Temple, and began to meet in the Court of the Gentiles, near the gate, where it had another hall of assembly.¹ Why this change, which removed it a little farther from the sanctuary, and seemed to give, by that very fact, less weight to its decisions ? The Talmuds explain it by saying that at that troublous time, crimes and assassinations multiplied to such an extent that the Sanhedrim no longer dared to pronounce the sentence of death in every case ; the number of executions would have been too great. It therefore ceased to sit in its accustomed place. Elsewhere it felt less guilty if it mitigated the punishment. The Sanhedrim thus let drop, of its own accord, the right of pronouncing sentence of death. The Romans did not precisely take it away, but for very weakness, the Sanhedrim dared no longer condemn and execute the brigands, sicarii and fanatic zealots, the more as their attempts had often a religious and patriotic intent. The people might have accused it of striking down patriots whose sole crime was that they sought to deliver their country. Then in the case of trials on the score of religion, or of matters about which the sentence passed might give offence to the strict Pharisees, to the fanatics, or to any section of the people whatsoever, the Sanhedrim asked the procurator to uphold it by the sanction of his authority. We believe that this was the case in the trial of Christ. The Sanhedrim did not dare to take upon itself alone the

¹ "B. J.," V. 4, § 2 ; *Id.*, VI. 6, § 3.

responsibility of His execution, for they knew that Jesus had been at one time very popular. They therefore begged Pilate to support them. The saying, "It is not lawful for us to put any one to death," was not so much the expression of a truth as a flattery of the governor.

In the case of Stephen, and subsequently of St. Paul,¹ the Sanhedrim had no scruples about condemning them to death, and the Romans found no fault with them. These were "questions about words and names in their own law," as Gallio² said afterwards, and the Romans cared for none of these things. Two passages from the Talmuds show that the Sanhedrim had retained the right of capital punishment under the Roman rule. Rabbi Lazarus, the son of Rabbi Zadok, said that in his boyhood, he had seen the daughter of a priest, who was taken in adultery, heaped round with faggots and burned.³ Now this Rabbi Lazarus lived to see the sacking of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple (70). The Romans had then been in Palestine one hundred and thirty-three years. They entered it in the year 63 B.C., when Pompey took Jerusalem. They were then already masters of the country when Rabbi Lazarus was a child. The same tract of the Jerusalem Talmud,⁴ which relates the proceedings taken to surprise heretics, says that Ben Sutda at Lydda was discovered by spies in this way, brought before the

¹ Acts xxv. 10. ; xxvi. 32. St. Paul only escaped being condemned to death by the Sanhedrim, by appealing to the emperor for judgment. St. Paul, however, was a Roman citizen. This placed him in a peculiar position. He could demand the ratification of his sentence, not only by the procurator, but by the imperial legate himself. Hence the Jews laid an ambush for his life.

² Acts xviii. 15-17.

³ Talm. Jerus., "Sanh.," fol. 24, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 25.

Sanhedrim, and "stoned." These passages are clear and decisive.

This penal jurisdiction, which was the most important and highest prerogative of the Sanhedrim, belonged specially to a part of the assembly composed of twenty-three members only. On an emergency any twenty-three members might act. It is certain that on the night when Jesus was arrested, the members hurriedly called together were not more than twenty-three. This judicial commission was called *Beth-Din* (house of justice), and was presided over by the vice-president of the whole assembly, named on account of his office, *Ab Beth-Din*. Two other commissions, also of twenty-three members, investigated the questions submitted to the full assembly formed of the three sections united. There were therefore, in reality, three Sanhedrims. They met, one at the gate of the Temple hill, another in a hall at the south-east corner of the Temple building, the third in the hall of "hewn stones." These three meeting-places were all within the precincts of the Temple. The largest of the three, that which was nearest to the sanctuary and in which the Sanhedrim held its daily full meetings, except on the Sabbath and solemn feast-days,¹ was the hall of hewn stones (*ex cæsis lapidibus exstructa*) (Lishcath hag-gazith). It derived this name from its peculiar construction.²

We have already referred to the passage in the Talmuds according to which the Sanhedrim ceased to meet in this place forty years before the destruction of the Temple. As this change was necessitated by judicial causes, there can be no doubt that it was the commission

¹ "Yôm. Tōb," V. 2.

² "Middoth," at the end. See Book II. ch. viii., on the Courts of the Temple.

of the twenty-three members on whom those questions devolved, who were displaced. They were accustomed to meet, as we have said, in the Court of the Gentiles at the Gate, but they had also another place of meeting, in a private possession of the family of Annas, called Channyōth, that is to say, Bazaars, on the Mount of Olives.¹ There can be no doubt that it was into these Channyōth that Jesus was taken immediately after his arrest. "They led him to Annas first, for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas,"² says the Gospel, thus confirming the indications given in the Talmuds.³

The Sanhedrim had at its disposal a certain number of agents (*ὑπηρέτης* in the New Testament), charged with the execution of its orders. These were the men who arrested Jesus. It was they who uttered the saying, "Never man spake like this man."⁴ They fulfilled the functions of police agents; they were in fact a kind of lictors (*virgiferi*). "They tested weights and measures, and punished evil doers."⁵

This Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, which had such large powers, was not competent, however, to decide all causes, or try all crimes committed through the length and breadth of Palestine. Every town, even every village, had a little local Sanhedrim of seven members, the seven who conducted the synagogue.

Among these seven there were three leaders, called

¹ Tract. "Sanhedrim."

² John xviii. 13. This statement of the fourth Gospel is certainly one of the most remarkable proofs of its genuineness.

³ We have spoken in detail of this property belonging to Annas, in our description of the Mount of Olives. See ch. ii.

⁴ John vii. 46.

⁵ Maimon., "Sanhedr.," ch. i; Babyl., "Yōmā," fol. 15-19; Matt. v. 25.

triumvirs, who decided by themselves unimportant causes. They settled questions of inheritance.¹ "The *triumvirs*," says Maimonides,² "ought to have seven qualifications: wisdom, gentleness, piety, hatred of Mammon, love of truth; they should be loved of men, and be of good repute." The seven were entrusted with the police of the town or village, and judged all causes not involving capital punishment. When the synagogue of Nazareth³ condemned Jesus to death, it went beyond its competence. If, however, it had been able to carry out its sentence and to fling him from the top of the hill, as some fanatics wished, probably no action would have followed. Such summary execution would have been regarded as a proof of patriotism and of religious faith on the part of the zealots. And to a zealot all things were lawful.⁴

When these little provincial assemblies were meeting in regular order, they held their session at the gate of the towns.

The gate has always been, in the East, the public place, the forum, the common *rendezvous* of the inhabitants. It is so still among the Arabs, and we know that the cabinet of Constantinople is called the Ottoman Porte. The sick were brought to Christ at the city gates.⁵ Among the old Hebrews justice was ad-

¹ Such questions as that which Jesus one day refused to decide; in fact, he had no right, not being one of the *triumvirs*. Luke xii. 13.

² Maimon., "Sanhed.," ch. i.

³ Luke iv. 29.

⁴ "He who steals the sacred vessels, he who blasphemes the name of God. . . . him the zealots kill," says the Mishnah approvingly.

⁵ Mark i. 33, 34.

ministered at the gates,¹ and cases were heard in the morning on account of the heat.² The hearing was public, and the judges were forbidden to receive presents.³ The examination was close.⁴ At least two witnesses were required,⁵ who had to declare upon oath that they had seen the crime committed.⁶ In civil causes one witness sufficed. These details, taken chiefly from the Old Testament, and reminding us strongly of the way in which the Arabs still proceed, give us some idea of the manner in which causes were conducted in the first century. They lead us to speak of the administration of justice by the great Sanhedrim of Jerusalem.

¹ 2 Sam. xv. 2. ² Jer. xxi. 12; Ps. ci. 8. ³ Deut. xvi. 19; xxvii. 25. ⁴ Deut. xiii. 14; xvii. 9. ⁵ Deut. xix. 15. ⁶ Lev. v. 1.

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The Administration of Justice According to the Talmuds.—Their Account of the Death of Jesus.—The Sentences Pronounced.—Imprisonment.—Fines.—Scourging.—Stoning.—The Agony of the Cross.

THE Talmuds have preserved the fullest details of the procedures of the Sanhedrim in the trial of the criminals brought before it. If these details are accurate, this assembly must have administered justice with remarkable impartiality mingled with a benevolence that cannot be too much admired.

We will begin by stating the facts, and will estimate them afterwards. According to the tract "The Sanhedrim," the judges assembled in the "hall of hewn stones," sat in a semi-circle, the president in the middle, at his right the vice-president. At each end of the semi-circle stood a secretary or clerk of the court. One of these wrote down the evidence in favour of the accused, the other the charges brought against him. In front of the judge, on three benches,¹ sat the disciples of the scribes, the candidates for practice, those whom we should call the law students. Each had his own place, and knew it. The accused was expected to stand in an attitude of sorrow and humiliation. When the life of

¹ "Sanhedrim," IV. 3.

the criminal was at stake, the judges (so say the Talmudists) would do all in their power to save him. They first took the evidence for the defence, before hearing anything against the accused.¹ Those who had spoken in his favour could not afterwards depose against him, while the reverse was permitted, and an accuser might afterwards speak on behalf of the prisoner. Acquittal might be pronounced at once. If the judges condemned, sentence must be deferred till the next day.² The vote was taken by sitting and standing. For acquittal a mere majority sufficed, for condemnation there must be a majority of two.³ If, for example, of the twenty-three members twelve pronounced for condemnation and eleven for acquittal, the accused was acquitted; hence capital sentences were very rare. To these remarkable statements the Talmudists add a fanciful account of the trial and condemnation of Christ.⁴ His condemnation is said to have taken place before the Passover, and to have been publicly proclaimed by the Sanhedrim for forty days; all those who had anything to say being invited meanwhile to come and depose in His favour.⁵ Finally, He was not crucified, but first stoned and then hanged. His accusers never brought Him before Pilate as an offender against the state; His trial was purely religious. It need scarcely be said that these allegations have no sort of foundation. This part of the tract "The Sanhedrim," was drawn up by people eager to justify themselves, because they felt the awful responsibility cast upon their great assembly by the account of the Passion given in the Gospels.

¹ "Sanh.," IV. 1.

² *Ibid.*, IV. 1; V. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, IV. 2.

⁴ Babyl., "Sanh.," 43 a.

⁵ These passages have been suppressed in several editions of the Talmud.

In the same tract of the Talmuds, we have other passages more truthful, which show us that the Jews did not always administer justice with such equity and benevolence as we have described. When it was the case of "a seducer of the people" (meçith), anything was allowable, even deceit and violence. Two witnesses were required. These were concealed within hearing of the accused, but so that he could not see them. Near him two candles were lighted, for the testimony must be that of eye-witnesses.¹ He was then told to repeat his blasphemy. If he did so, and did not retract, the two witnesses came forth and brought him before the tribunal. His condemnation was then certain. He was stoned to death. As we have said, the lying in wait was a regular thing, and took the place of the examination before the magistrates with us. The Talmuds say that this was the course adopted with regard to Jesus. Two witnesses, placed there for the purpose, surprised Him in this way.² The Gospels also speak of witnesses secured beforehand to condemn Jesus.³ It is very possible, moreover, that the details in the Talmuds about the authorised concealment of the witnesses may have been an after-invention. In any case, it is certain that in the haste with which in a few hours Jesus was arrested, tried, condemned and executed, there was flagrant illegality. The Sanhedrim broke the law: 1st, In beginning to try Jesus during the night, for trials involving capital punishment were to be begun and ended by day.⁴ 2nd,

¹ "Sanh.," IV. 5.

² Talm. Jerus., "Sanh.," XIV. 16; Babyl., *Id.*, 43 a; 67 a.

³ Matt. xxvi. 59, 60, 61.

⁴ "Sanh.," IV. 1. It is true that they waited till the morning to pronounce the sentence (Matt. xxvii. 1), the very hour when they should have been reciting their phylacteries.

In holding a council to condemn Jesus solely on His own confession.¹ 3rd, In trying Jesus on the night before the Passover feast, according to the date given by the synoptics, for at that time the court was forbidden to sit. "Men are not to be tried on the feast day."² Now we know that the day commenced on the evening before; the night before a feast day, therefore, necessarily formed part of it.

The penalties adjudged by the law of Moses were five: fines, interdict, a sacrifice for expiation, corporal correction, and capital punishment. Imprisonment is not among them.³ This seems only to have been instituted in the time of the kings.⁴ It formed one of the penalties pronounced by the great Sanhedrim, or by the local Sanhedrims. These penalties seem to have been four: imprisonment, fines, scourging, and death. We know that there was a public prison in Jerusalem. It is mentioned several times in the Acts of the Apostles.⁵ It is probable that it was in the Tower of Antonia.⁶ In the Gospel we find mention also of imprisonment for debt.⁷ About fines, we have fuller details. These were instituted to take the place of the ancient and terrible law of retaliation, which still exists among the Arabs, but which could, even as early as the time of Moses, be commuted by the payment of a fine except in a case of

¹ Num. xxxv. 30.

² "Mo'ed Katan," ch. 5. halac. 2.

³ Except in the passage in Lev. xxiv. 12; but this refers to the arrest of the offender and his detention till his cause is tried. His punishment was not imprisonment, but death. See Num. xv. 34.

⁴ 1 Kings xxii. 27; Jer. xx. 2; xxxvii. 15.

⁵ Acts v. 18; xii. etc.

⁶ See ch. ii., Description of Jerusalem.

⁷ Matt. xviii. 30.

homicide.¹ In the first century there was a tariff of these pecuniary compensations, ranging higher or lower according to the offence. "If a man has given his neighbour a box on the ear, let him give him a *maneh*.² If he has struck him on the cheek let him give him two hundred *zūz*."³ Four hundred *zūz* were exacted of one who had pulled his neighbour's ear, or torn out his hair, or had spit upon him, or taken away his cloak.⁴ The same fine was imposed on any one who uncovered the face of a woman in public. These penalties were further proportioned to the rank of the injured person. There was no law for punishing insult. Hence, the period we are describing was pre-eminently an age of abusive language. Two Jews could not discuss calmly, and the grossest insults and most opprobrious epithets were current in the talk of all classes of society.

Scourging, or rather the bastinado, was the most common of all punishments. The small provincial Sanhedrims inflicted it almost daily. The flagellator was the *chazzān*, the factotum of the synagogue.⁵ This punishment of the lash, described in Deuteronomy,⁶ is still used in Egypt. It is one of the Oriental customs preserved unchanged from the most distant times, and there can be no doubt that it was in the first century just what it was in the fifteenth, and is to-day. It is administered directly after the trial and in the presence of the judge. The offender, laid on the ground, receives the stripes. This punishment has not now, and certainly

¹ Lev. xxiv. 19; Num. xxxv. 31.

² "Baba Kamma," ch. 8. hal. 6.

³ The *zūz* was worth $8\frac{1}{2}d$. Two hundred *zūz* represented about £7 6s. 6d.

⁴ Matt. v. 40.

⁵ See Book II. chap. viii., The Synagogue. ⁶ Deut. xxv. 1, 2, 3.

had not then, anything degrading in it. In the present day the number of stripes is not limited. Formerly it was restricted to forty, and in order to be sure not to extend that number only thirty-nine were given. Hence St. Paul says "forty stripes save one;"¹ but thirty-nine stripes were given for each offence separately, and the criminal might receive thirty-nine stripes twice or thrice in succession.² The number might also be lessened if the fault was not a grave one,³ and sometimes the sentence gave only five or six strokes of the bastinado.⁴

Capital punishment was almost always by stoning. The Talmuds mention strangling, but do not give any details, and it is not spoken of in the Old Testament. The peculiar Jewish punishment was stoning. The law commands particularly that any prophet or false teacher who should turn away the people from the law of Moses should be stoned without a hearing, even though he was a worker of miracles.⁵ He was looked upon as a destroyer of the faith. This terrible punishment is described in detail in the Mishnah.⁶ The condemned, if a man, was led naked to the place of torture, but a woman was allowed to retain her clothes. The offender was always taken outside the city,⁷ it mattered not where, for the soil of Judea is everywhere scattered over with stones, which always give it a dreary and desolate look. All that was necessary was that the place should

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 24.

² St. Paul had the bastinado five times.

³ Luke xii. 47, 48.

⁴ Scourging must be distinguished from the bastinado. St. Paul says: "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one; thrice was I beaten with rods" (2 Cor. xi. 24). We do not know what this beating was.

⁵ Deut. xiii. 1; John viii. 59; x. 31, 33; xi. 8; Luke xx. 6; 2 Cor. xi. 25.

⁶ "Sanh.," ch. IV. § 4.

⁷ Talmud Babyl., "Sanh.," fol. 42, 2.

be in a valley or foss with steep banks, from the top of which one of the witnesses threw the accused down. "If he falls on his back and is killed, well and good; if not, another witness throws a stone on his chest."¹ The first stones were to be cast at the head, so as to hasten death and shorten the sufferings of the victim. There were no regular executioners. In the time of the kings, the sovereigns appointed men to carry out the sentence. This practice still obtains in some Eastern countries. But among the Arabs, the executioner is the one who has a right to be avenged, and it was so in the first century.² After stoning, the body of the victim was hanged; but this last ignominy was not inflicted on women.

Death by the sword, which was practised in the time of the kings,³ is only mentioned twice in the New Testament,⁴ and is nowhere described in the Talmuds.

It still remains for us to speak of the agony of the cross. This was introduced into Palestine by the Romans. In Italy, this punishment was only inflicted on slaves and for crimes against the state, or when special infamy was to be attached to the death; otherwise the condemned was slain by the sword. But in Palestine, the Romans thought little of crucifying Jews.⁵ Did they not belong to a despised race, a race of slaves? Did not their hot and fierce patriotism make them all guilty of treason against Cæsar, the senate and the Roman people?

We have already alluded to the crucifixion, under

¹ "Sanhed.," VI. hal. 4.

² See the account of the death of Stephen, Acts vii.

³ 2 Sam. i. 15; 1 Kings ii. 25, 31, 54.

⁴ Mark vi. 16, 28; Acts xii. i. 2.

⁵ "Ant. Jud.," XVII. 10, § 10; XX. 6, § 2; "B. J.," V. 11, § 1.

Varus, of two thousand insurgents in the year of the birth of Christ, and to the five hundred crucifixions daily under Titus during the siege of Jerusalem.

We have also explained why the Sanhedrim desired Pilate to ratify the sentence of death which it had pronounced upon Jesus. We believe that it dreaded an uprising of the people, and wished to be able to say: "Jesus was not condemned to death for the crime of heresy, but by the Roman procurator, for a crime against the state." If the Sanhedrim had had the courage of its opinions, Jesus ought to have been stoned; but accused before Pilate, tried by him in the last resort, and condemned for having aspired to be king, He could be sentenced to the death of the cross. As to the thieves crucified with him, they must have been criminals of the lowest sort.

Judgment having been pronounced, the condemned was handed over to the Roman law. A centurion on horseback, attended by at least four soldiers, to carry out the sentence, superintended the crucifixion, which became thus a military execution. Hence soldiers gave the prisoner the scourging, which always preceded the crucifixion.¹ He was then made to carry his cross, and led away. There was no special place at Jerusalem set apart for executions. Criminals were crucified outside the city and near the gates. A slightly rising ground was chosen, by some frequented road, for it must be borne in mind that the immediate object of crucifixion was not so much to cause death as to expose the sufferer to the ignominious insults of the lookers-on. He would not die for many hours, sometimes not for many days. None of the wounds inflicted on him were

¹ "B. J.," II. 14, § 9; Titus Livius, 33, 36; Quintus Curtius, I, ii. 28.

really mortal, and if his constitution was strong he would only die of starvation. Josephus tells of some who, having been crucified and taken down from the cross after a certain time, slowly recovered under very careful treatment. It is evident that the hemorrhage from the pierced hands and feet would soon cease; and sometimes the victims were only bound with cords to the cross. The usual cause of death was congestion of the brain. The tension of the extended arms caused acute suffering. The blood flowed violently to the head, and a sort of apoplexy carried off the victim. When death was slow in coming, and the sufferings of the crucified seemed likely to be greatly prolonged, the end might be hastened by breaking the bones of the legs.¹

It is probable that the place where Jesus was crucified had already been used for punishments of this kind. It was a bare hillock called Golgotha, a Hebrew word signifying skull (in French, *Chaumont*).² This hillock was to the north-west of Jerusalem. It was doubtless one of those waste places commonly found in the neighbourhood of large towns, a deserted field. M. Bovet³ affirms and demonstrates that the traditional sites of the Holy Sepulchre and of Calvary are authentic. We have already said that this opinion is being more and more widely received.

The cross was made of two beams fastened in the form of a T. It was only slightly raised, and the feet of the victim almost touched the ground. He was stripped of his clothes, and bound or nailed to the cross while it still lay on the ground. It was then lifted up

¹ John xix. 31, 32. ² The name *Buttes Chaumont*, in Paris, on the site of the old gibbet of Montfaucon, has the same origin (*Mont Chauve*). ³ "Voyage en Terre Sainte."

and dropped into a hole made ready beforehand. The moment when the sufferer first felt himself suspended was one of intolerable distress and anguish. The Jews, out of humanity, used to give him some drugged wine to stupefy him.

Then the soldiers kept watch and the victim remained on the cross, in the midst of the crowd, uttering cries of anguish wrung from him by pain. Among the on-lookers, some were indifferent; had they not a hundred times before seen thieves crucified? Others were hostile; the passers-by flung jibes at the victim, the children threw stones. Hour after hour went by. Night fell, and the crucified was left alone with his awful physical sufferings, stupefied by the *posca*¹ and by the increasing congestion of the brain, feeling death creeping on, but all too slowly. When the sun rose the next morning, and the stir of life began in the city and around the cross, the victim was still living, suffering more and more, and imploring the first passer-by to put an end to his misery. No one troubled even to reply.

Such was this torture, unapproached in its anguish in all the annals of human cruelty.

¹ A sort of sharp drink which the Roman soldiers always had with them, and which they often gave to the sufferer.

CHAPTER VI.

POPULATION.

The Jewish People.—The Contrast between the Judeans and Galileans.—Their Different Characteristics.—Their Relations.—The Samaritans.—Their Origin.—The Mutual Hatred of Jews and Samaritans.—Foreign Influence in Palestine.—Hatred of the Jews among the Gentiles.—Contempt of the Gentiles for the Jews.—Proselytism and Proselytes.—Languages Spoken in Palestine.—Latin.—Hebrew.—Aramaic.—Syriac.—Chaldean.—Greek.

WHAT was the population of Palestine in the first century? It is impossible to answer this question without going back to the time of the exile and knowing something of the migrations of the tribes which went on at that time. Almost the entire nation was carried into captivity; and during the exile Palestine became, so to speak, a Gentile country. Those Israelites who afterwards returned, belonged exclusively to the caste of the priests and Levites, and to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin.¹ They found in the country some scattered remnants of the ten tribes, who had not been carried into exile, and these immediately joined themselves to them, wishing to "separate themselves from the filthiness of the people of the land."² The ten tribes themselves remained in Babylon. This Josephus distinctly

¹ Ezra ii. 5; iv. 1; x. 9; Neh. xi. 4, etc.

² Ezra vi. 21.

asserts,¹ and in the time of 'Akibah, the question arose if their return was not to be still looked for.² The inhabitants of Palestine were then, from the time of Ezra, the descendants of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin only; hence they received the name of Jews instead of that of Hebrews, by which they were formerly designated; but these Jews were unequally distributed over the Holy Land. The larger number of them lived at Jerusalem and in Judea. There their fathers had lived before them; there Ezra and Nehemiah had carried on the great work of national restoration; there the Maccabean insurrection had left the deepest traces; there the scribes and doctors of the law had their schools; there, finally, was the Temple, the centre of religious activity, the impregnable fortress of Judaism. The farther from Jerusalem the greater the admixture of Gentile population. In the city itself and throughout Judea there could scarcely be said to be any. In Galilee, on the contrary, the population was very mixed. The Galileans were not of pure Hebrew blood, and they differed widely from the Jews. The contrast between the two nations was as striking as between the two countries. In Galilee, nature presented here a smiling there an imposing aspect, and its people were at once simple and thoughtful, fond of new and daring ideas. In Judea, the soil was arid and desolate, and the people were bound up in their traditions, and never willing to go beyond the letter of the law. In Galilee, new faiths found ready acceptance; in Judea, every innovation was rejected by the self-satisfied "Sophēr," who knew his "Torah" by heart. The Galilean peasant, less instructed than the dweller in towns, showed nevertheless far more independence of mind and more true freedom of spirit.

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XI. 5, § 2.

² Mishnah, "Sanhed.," X. 3.

Among the Jews all was routine and prejudice. Galilee was¹ the cradle of Christianity; it was at Nazareth Jesus grew up. Judea could only produce a narrow Pharisaism and a Sadduceeism without any belief in the future. The old faith had become petrified at Jerusalem in the first century. It had taken the shape of the mould which the scribes had formed for it, and it has retained it ever since. The Galileans were an active and hardy race; they were no dreamers. Their Messianic ideal was probably not high. The Jewish element no doubt predominated, and the Galileans formed part of the chosen people, but it was not uncommon to meet Galileans of Phenician, Syrian, Arab, and even Greek origin. All that we know of the Galileans from the Talmuds is attractive. We are frequently told that they were not quarrelsome,² but on the contrary, charitable and benevolent. "In one place in Upper Galilee, there was a poor old man who was carefully supplied with a dinner of poultry day by day, because he had been accustomed to it in the days of his prosperity."³ The Galileans were more anxious to gain honour than money.⁴ They were superstitious. The Syrians had taught them to fear demons. Their manner of life was pure, and they paid the taxes with great regularity; thus Antipas was very rich. His tetrarchy brought him in two hundred talents.⁵

The mild and conciliatory character of the Galileans, the breadth of their ideas, and their habitual contact with Gentiles, caused them to be ill regarded in Judea. The Galilean who went up to the Temple for the feasts, was looked down upon by the bigoted and self-righteous

¹ "B. J.," III. 3, § 1.

² Babyl., "Nedarim," 48 a.

³ "Tosiftah Peah," ch. 8.

⁴ Jerus., "Cethubboth," 14.

⁵ £42,240.

dwellers in Jerusalem. His ardent devotion was turned to ridicule by the priests. He was derided for his provincial accent,¹ and despised for his ignorance; he knew not the law; he was not strictly orthodox, and was sneeringly spoken of as a "Galilean fool."²

It was a proverb that no great man could come out of Galilee, and especially out of Nazareth.³ There was no reason for such contempt, for the patriotism of the Galilean was as ardent as that of the Judean Jew. In the year 66, the youth of Galilee were the first to rise and show their hatred to the foreigners. Josephus says of the Galileans, they are warlike (*μάχιμοι*).⁴ If there was little love between them and the Jews, they yet never had any hatred to one another. They were too near neighbours not to have mutual jealousies, but their rivalry always bore on points of detail, and on great religious and patriotic questions they could be profoundly united. These two small peoples might be compared to the Genevese and the Vaudois, who never lose an opportunity of criticising one another, showing their mutual jealousy, and turning one another to ridicule, but who, nevertheless, are absolutely one on all points affecting the general welfare of Switzerland as a whole.

Between Judea and Galilee lay Samaria. It was inhabited by a population which was the object of a blind, implacable, deadly hatred, such as can only be explained by remembering the origin of the Samaritans.

After the destruction of the kingdom of Israel, the king Shalmaneser had tried to repopulate the country by sending into it colonists from the provinces of Baby-

¹ Matt. xxvi. 73, and parall. Acts ii. 7. Talm. Babyl. "'Erubin' 53 *a* and foll.; "Bereshith Rabbah," 26 *a*.

² Talm. Babyl., "'Erubin," 53 *b*.

³ John vii. 52; i. 46.

⁴ "B. J.," III. 3, § 2.

lon, Cuthah, Avva, Hamath and Sepharvaim.¹ Those who came from Cuthah were the most numerous, and the Jews afterwards refused to recognise the Samaritans as brethren, calling them Cuthites.² They had some excuse, for it was vain for the inhabitants of Samaria to try and pass as Israelites. They were, by far the larger number of them, of foreign extraction. Gentiles by birth, they were however no longer Gentiles in religion. They had adopted the faith of the Israelites who had remained in the country, and had made the Pentateuch their sacred code. But there they stopped. They were not willing to accept either the authority of the books of the prophets, or the traditions so dear to the Pharisees. At Jerusalem they were regarded as dangerous heretics. Worshipping the same God as the Jews, reading with equal veneration the same Scriptures, alike regarding Moses as their supreme lawgiver and the messenger of Jehovah, they were, nevertheless, more hated than the Gentiles. The heretic is always a more redoubtable foe than the infidel; and, in religion, a shade of difference of opinion usually causes a deeper schism than direct opposition. The hatred of the Samaritan, deep from the beginning, went on increasing in acrimony, and fed upon every little thing which prejudice could magnify and construe into an offence. It first broke out openly when the exiles came back under the conduct of Zerubbabel and Jeshua.³ It became still more pronounced when Ezra and Nehemiah arrived in Palestine.⁴ Nothing could now arrest it. At length it became a tradition that Ezra, Zerubbabel, and Jeshua

¹ 2 Kings xvii. 24 and foll.

² Χουθαιοι, "Ant. Jud.," IX. 14, § 3; X. 9, § 7.

³ 520 B.C. Ezra iv. 1-5, 23, 24.

⁴ 445 B.C. Neh. iv. 1-17.

had solemnly anathematised and excommunicated the Samaritans in the name of Jehovah.¹ Under Alexander the Great, a grave event took place, which finally broke off all relations between the two peoples.² Manasseh, brother of the high priest Jaddua, had married the daughter of the governor of Samaria. Jealous of his brother, and eager for power, he obtained permission from Alexander to build upon Mount Gerizim a rival temple to that of Jerusalem.³ He became high priest of the new temple, and gathered around him priests and Levites. These married strange women, and the scandal of these unlawful unions and of this new worship brought the indignation of the Jews to a climax. This blending of Judaism and paganism, seemed to them an utter abomination. The old traditions of hatred of the kingdom of Judea against the kingdom of Israel were revived in all their bitterness.⁴ In the first century, the relations between the Jews and Samaritans were worse than ever.⁵ The Galileans who ventured to pass through their province to go up to Jerusalem, exposed themselves to danger.⁶ But they were not forbidden to make the attempt. "The Samaritan land is clean, the water is clean, the habitations are clean, and the roads clean," says one of the Talmuds.⁷ This means that Samaria formed part of the Holy Land, so that it might be traversed

¹ "Tanahim," fol. 17, 4.

² This event may have been of still earlier date.

³ "Ant. Jud.," XII. 9, § 1.

⁴ The writer of Ecclesiasticus, Jesus Sirach, bitterly attacks the Samaritans; Ecclus. i. 25, 26.

⁵ The Samaritans set up a Sanhedrim like that of the Jews, "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 4, § 2.

⁶ "Ant. Jud.," XX. 6, § 1.

⁷ Jerus., "Avodah Zarah," fol. 44, 4.

without the risk of incurring any defilement. Only the traveller must be prepared to be insulted by the inhabitants, and no intercourse with them was permitted. The Jews would not even ask a Samaritan for anything to eat. "A morsel of bread from a Samaritan," said they, "is as swine's flesh."¹ It is true that when Jesus was passing through the country, His disciples went to Sichem to buy food.² But Jesus did not treat the Samaritans as his countrymen did. Nor were all the Jews so narrow. Rabbi Jacob bar Acha said: "The food of the Cuthites may be lawfully eaten, if it is not mixed with wine or vinegar,"³ and elsewhere we read, "It is lawful to eat the unleavened bread of the Cuthites and to keep the Passover with them."⁴

Such toleration, however, does not seem to have been in favour in the first century. The Pharisee of that time would not even pronounce the name Samaritan; it was a vile and opprobrious epithet. He only allowed himself to use it when he wished mortally to insult an enemy. To call a man a Samaritan was the lowest of abuse. The Jew only said it when he had exhausted his vocabulary of injurious epithets. In the parable of the Good Samaritan, when Jesus said to the scribe, "Which of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour to him that fell among the thieves?" the scribe will not answer directly; he uses a circumlocution, and says, "he that showed mercy on him."

It must be added that another event had about this time still more exasperated the Jews against the Samaritans. Under the procurator Coponius, one of Pilate's predecessors, some Samaritans had crept into

¹ Mishnah "Shebi'ith," 8, 10.

² John iv. 7.

³ Jerus., "Avodah Zarah," fol. 44, 4.

⁴ Babyl., "Kiddushin," fol. 76, 1.

the Temple in the middle of the night during the Passover feast, had scattered bones about and defiled the Holy Place. The next day the priests would not enter to perform the sacred rites.¹ Religious hatred had moreover extinguished in the Samaritans the love of country. They were favourable to the Seleucidæ and afterwards to the Romans. In the great uprising of the year 66 they stood by indifferent. They thus escaped being dispersed or destroyed like the Jews, and after the fearful catastrophe of the year 70, they continued to dwell in Samaria, and, strange to say, they have continued there up to our own day. This small people, after surviving for more than eighteen hundred years the terrible upheavals of which Palestine has been the constant scene, has just disappeared. Until a few years ago, the Samaritans showed to any travellers who visited them, an old manuscript of the Pentateuch which they carefully preserved. They still retained all their religious observances, for they had a little building or temple on Mount Gerizim, where they kept the Passover and sacrificed the paschal lamb. They observed also the feast of Pentecost, the feast of Tabernacles, and the Day of Atonement.

All this has now ceased. Thirty years ago there were 150 Samaritans, to-day there are none; the nineteenth century has witnessed the death of the last of the Samaritans.

We have thus described the inhabitants of the three great provinces of Palestine—Judea, Galilee and Samaria. We have shown that both in Galilee and in Samaria there was a large admixture of Gentile population. Let

¹ Subsequently, under the procurator Cumanus (48-52), some Galilean pilgrims passing through Samaria were assassinated by the inhabitants. "B. J.," II. 12, § 3.

us try and explain what was the influence of this foreign element, and especially of the Greek element, in the population.

The Greek language, as we shall presently show, was spoken in certain places. The people had been obliged to accept even while they hated it. Now the adoption of the language of any nation means accepting to a greater or less extent its ideas also. The knowledge of a language brings with it almost of necessity some acquaintance with the philosophical and religious notions of the people speaking it. This result was all the more certain in Palestine, because it was in the midst of a complete circle of Greek cities. Decapolis, in particular, was Greek. The good Jews groaned over such a lamentable state of things. The Maccabees had revolted only in order to destroy the Hellenic influence, and the Pharisees in the first century continued to show a bold resistance to its intrusion; but events were too strong for them. Aristobulus I. had been the friend of the Greeks. Herod the Great was even more so. He took advantage of the alienation of Samaria from Judaism to change the name of its capital into Sebaste; he had Greek coins struck, and built a temple to Augustus.¹ The heathen gods were thus worshipped in Samaria, as also at Tiberias, the capital of Galilee. We know that at Gaza, Ascalon and Cesarea, worship was paid to the local divinities and to the great gods of Greece.² Between these cities which formed part of Palestine, and

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XV. 8, § 5; "B. J.," I. 21, § 2.

² Mionnet, "Description des médailles antiques," V. 535-539, 579-585, and Supplement, VIII. 371-375. See also Lebas and Waddington, "Inscriptions." It is only through these medals that we know most of the local divinities. We have also coins from Tiberias bearing the impress of the Greek gods.

those which were beyond the frontiers, there was from a religious point of view only one difference. In the cities of Palestine there was the presence of a party of Pharisees, always restless and overbearing, who sometimes succeeded in gaining a majority and in making the laws. With this exception, paganism was as flourishing in certain parts of Palestine as it could be in the rest of Syria and throughout Asia Minor. We can understand the uneasiness of the Pharisees, and the alarm they felt at seeing the spread of paganism, and it is not difficult to account for their persistent and deadly hatred of the Gentiles.

This hatred was thoroughly mutual. The Pharisee was the type of the bigoted, uncompromising Jew. He wanted to keep his people apart and distinct from all others. He felt that his nation would be lost if it made any pact with paganism. In fact it was too small not to be swallowed up in so vast an empire. The only means of preserving it was to secure its separate existence. It had been compelled to accept the Roman government, and to submit to the thousand requirements of the conqueror. But the Romans had not interfered with the national worship, and the hope of the Pharisee lay there. He sought to make the worship of the synagogue a perpetuity, and by this means to assure the perpetuity of his religion and even of his nationality. It must be confessed that he has succeeded admirably, for Judaism still subsists, and in some countries has even the honourable distinction of being considered dangerous.

The Pharisees showed in two ways their hatred of paganism. They were careful not to adopt pagan manners, especially the religious usages of the Gentiles, and they eschewed all contact with the Gentiles them-

selves. They never used any articles that had belonged to Gentiles; to do so would have been to contract defilement. We can understand therefore how terribly scandalised the Judeo-Christians were, when they learned that Paul had entered into relations with the Gentiles, and was preaching the Gospel to them.¹

The holy city, in particular, was to be kept pure from any image, statue, or representation whatsoever of emperor or god. Herod the Great had wished to place some trophies in the theatre which he had built; but the Pharisees would not consent.² When he set up a Roman eagle over the gate of the Temple he provoked a rebellion,³ and Pilate was no more successful when he introduced the Roman ensigns into the city.⁴ During the war one great aim was to destroy the palace of Antipas at Tiberias, because it contained statues.⁵ The Talmuds forbid the use of wood from a Gentile forest; a fire must not be lighted, nor must food be cooked with it.⁶ A Jew is not allowed to have any relations with a foreigner, nor to go to his house.⁷ The rule, thus expressed in the Acts of the Apostles, was subject to no exception. The Gentiles were all "unclean."⁸ This estrangement grew gradually into the most bitter hatred, and we find in Maimonides really atrocious sayings about the Gentiles. "The Israelite who kills a stranger," it is said, "is not put to death by the San-

¹ It is true that the Pharisees also made proselytes. Of this we shall speak further on.

² "Ant. Jud.," XV. 8, § 1, 2.

³ *Ibid.*, XVII. 6, § 2; "B. J.," I. 33, § 2.

⁴ "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 3, § 1; "B. J.," II. 9, § 1-3.

⁵ "Vita," § 12.

⁷ Acts x. 28.

⁶ "Avodah Zarah," I. 7; II. 8; III. 9.

⁸ John xviii. 28, "They went not into the judgment hall, that they might not be defiled; but that they might eat the passover."

hedrim, because the Gentile is not a neighbour ;" and "if a Gentile fall into the sea, a Jew is not to pull him out ; for it is written : 'Thou shalt not be guilty of thy neighbour's blood,' but the Gentile is not thy neighbour."¹ These words cast a sombre light on the significance of that saying of Jesus, "Let him be unto thee as the Gentile."² The scribes taught that the very dust of a Gentile land was defilement,³ hence the expression, "Shake off the dust of your feet."⁴

The mercantile spirit of the Jewish nation was not, however, always amenable to this law of absolute separation and implacable hatred. Hence some rabbis had introduced a modification with regard to trade. "It is permitted," they said, "to buy meat, milk, oil and bread prepared by the Gentiles, but not to use them."⁵ If after buying them they could not be used by the buyer, the only thing was to resell them, and this provision was clearly made with a view to trade. It was not allowed to sit down at the table of a Gentile ; the very sight of the Gentile world was repulsive to a Jew. The three great offences of the Gentiles were, that they ate swine's flesh, did not observe the Sabbath, and made representations of the Deity.⁶

If the Jews thus detested the pagans, they assuredly received hate for hate, scorn for scorn. When the Gentiles first entered into relations with them, they looked upon them only with a sort of benevolent curiosity. They paid their tribute to the beauty of the Temple.

¹ See also Jerus., "Demai," fol. 23, 1.

² Matt. xviii. 17.

³ Babyl., "Sanhedr.," fol. 12, 1.

⁴ Matt. x. 14 ; Luke ix. 5.

⁵ "Avodah Zarah," II. 6 ; "B. J.," II. 21, § 2 ; "Vita," § 13.

⁶ Plutarch, "Sympos.," IV. 5 ; Juvenal, "Sat.," VI. 160 ; Jos., "Contr. Apion," 2, § 6 ; Tacitus, "Hist.," V. 5 (see also V. 8) ; Pliny, "H. N.," 13, 4, and 46.

Ptolemy made gifts to it.¹ Augustus presented wine cups (*ἀκροτοφόροι*) for its service. Under his reign and that of Tiberius, the Jews were not at all objects of aversion. The Herods, for example, were Jews, and yet well regarded at Rome. Acme, the confidante of the empress Livia, was a Jewess. Horace had a Jew among his friends. But when the foreigners came to know them better, they considered them ridiculous, and after the rebellion, when the Jews had held in check for four years the great military power of Rome, they were simply hated. Already Cicero had said: "These natives of Syria and Judea are born only to be slaves."² Seneca ridicules their Sabbath observances.³ He says somewhere: "This miserable and criminal nation has spread over the whole world, carrying its customs with it."⁴ Tacitus speaks of them as the "scum of slavery;"⁵ and declares that they are famous for their "hatred of humanity." A god who still claimed to be worshipped, though his nation had been conquered, seemed to the Romans the height of absurdity. He must be powerful to be a god; and since the cause of Jehovah was lost, it was blasphemous and absurd still to believe in Him. Constantine became a Christian three centuries later, because the heathen gods were no longer able to resist the God of the Christians. He had proved His power by victory; the gods had shown their weakness by defeat.

We must bear in mind the gulf which divided the Jew from the Roman, in order to appreciate the miracle wrought by the first preachers of the Gospel. In all the

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XII. 2; XIII. 3, § 4; "Cont. Ap." II. § 5; "B. J.," VII. 3, § 3; Luke xxi. 5.

² Cicero, "De Prov. cons.," 5, 10

⁴ "Hist.," V. 8.

³ "Epist.," 95, 47.

⁵ "Fragm.," 42.

new churches, tables of communion were set up, and at these the Jew sat side by side with the Greek and the Roman, the slave sat beside the freeman, the poor beside the rich, all on the same level, without distinction, without privilege, eating the same bread, drinking from the same cup. Such was the equality and fraternity of the early Christians, suddenly manifesting itself in a world full of division, hatred, and bitterness, as was the Roman world in the first century.

It is remarkable that among some of the Pharisees the spirit of proselytism had more force than the obligation not to associate with the Gentiles. The school of Hillel looked upon proselytism as a duty. The Gentiles were lost for ever if they did not learn to know the true God, and these Pharisees felt it incumbent on them to devote their time and their life to snatching as many souls as possible from perdition. They even went so far sometimes as to enforce conversion, where they were the stronger.¹ "Ye compass sea and land," said Jesus Christ, "to make one proselyte."² Thus they obtained a considerable number of conversions, especially among women. "At Damascus," says Josephus,³ "almost all the women were addicted to the Jewish religion." The obligation to be circumcised often hindered men from embracing Judaism.

This ardent proselytism was, however, confined to one particular school. Shammai and his disciples were strongly opposed to it,⁴ for they required the observance of the whole law, and did not show the toleration without which converts could not be won. The Talmudist doctors

¹ So at least it would appear from this passage in Horace :—

"Ac veluti te Judæi cogemus in hanc concedere turbam."

² Matt. xxiii. 15.

³ "B. J.," II. 20, § 2.

⁴ "Shabbath," 31 a.

came afterwards to look upon the proselytes with a very unfavourable eye. They called them the plague of Israel, and said that they hindered the coming of Messiah.¹ It must be admitted that proselytism was seldom disinterested. Money was obtained under various pretexts from the new converts. The work of propagandism was carried on chiefly by the Jews scattered abroad. They regarded themselves as missionaries of the principles of Judaism, as the apostles afterwards became missionaries of the Gospel of Christ. There was much in the religion of the Jews to incline men's minds towards it. It preached the unity of God and purity of life ; it set forth the highest social and moral virtues as the ideal to be aimed at. Women who longed to be shielded from the universal corruption, young girls who wished to remain pure, felt themselves attracted by this strange worship, which set a brand on all sensual indulgence. It is certain that at one period in history, the Jews exercised a great religious influence in the world. "Our laws," said Philo, "attract the world to themselves—barbarians, strangers, Greeks, those who dwell on the continents and in the islands of the east and west, and in Europe."²

It is scarcely needful to say that there were various degrees of proselytes. We are familiar with two : 1st, The "proselytes of the gate," called also those who feared God. These were subject only to what were known as the precepts of Noah, and not to those of Moses.³ They had abandoned the worship of idols, but were not

¹ Talm. Babyl, "Niddah," fol. 13, 2.

² "Vita Mosis," Book 4.

³ Mishnah, "Baba Meç'ia," IX. 12 ; Talm. Babyl., "Sanh.," 56 b ; Acts viii. 27 ; x. 2, 22, 35 ; xiii. 16, 26 ; "Ant. Jud.," XIV. 7, § 2 ; Gal. ii. 3.

yet fully initiated into Judaism. The early pagan converts to Christianity were also obliged to observe these precepts.¹ 2nd, The "proselytes of righteousness," who were more advanced. These were regarded as ultimately forming part of the people of Israel. But all the proselytes, whatever their degree of affiliation, were always looked upon as very inferior to Jews by birth.

It remains for us to speak of the language of Palestine in the first century. Its inhabitants, as we have already observed, had of necessity come under the influence of Hellenism, and had to a greater or less degree adopted the language of Greece. Latin was also spoken in the Holy Land. Let us enquire to what extent these two foreign tongues were used.

When Pilate crucified Jesus, he placed over His head the inscription, "Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews."² And he ordered it to be repeated three times; in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Hence we conclude that these three languages were at that time understood and spoken in Palestine, and that those who used the one did not always understand the other two. Latin was the language of the Roman dwellers in the cities and the garrisons, the publicans, the soldiers and the tax-gatherers. It was a despised tongue. The Jews never spoke it, and it was by no means common even at the time of the war for Latin to be understood in Palestine.³ The centurion and the four soldiers who were charged with the execution of Jesus were possibly the only ones to understand the Latin part of the inscription on the cross. Latin (with Greek of which we shall speak presently) was the official language, and the Roman

¹ Acts xv. 20, 29. See also Gen. ix. 4.

² Luke xxiii. 38; John xix. 20.

³ "B. J.," V. 9, § 2; VI. 2, § 1; VI. 6, § 2.

decrees issued for the cities of Phenicia were always in Greek and Latin.¹

Hebrew the people no longer spoke. That part of Pilate's inscription said to have been in Hebrew, must have undoubtedly been Chaldee or Aramaic, for the old Hebrew language had fallen into disuse except among the scribes and doctors of the law. It was called the sacred language (*Leshōn hakkōdesh*) or the "tongue of the learned" (*Leshōn chakāmīm*).

The law was read in Hebrew in the synagogues and immediately afterwards translated aloud.² In the schools, the rabbis taught in Hebrew,³ and under the porch in the first Temple court, they carried on discussions in the same tongue. It is probable that Jesus used Hebrew in His conversations with the Pharisees, for it was not until the fourth century that Chaldee came to be exclusively employed in religious discussions. The Mishnah was written in Hebrew, the Gemara in Chaldee. We have no doubt that Jesus was perfectly familiar with ancient Hebrew. He certainly studied the Scriptures in the original, but His mother-tongue, that which was familiar to Him from childhood, was Chaldee, or as it is also called, Aramaic or Syriac.⁴ It existed from the time of Jacob, and even at that remote period was distinct from the Hebrew.⁵ It was spoken throughout the north of Syria and in Meso-

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XIV. 10, § 2 ; XIV. 12, § 5.

² See Book II. ch. vi. : The Synagogue.

³ "Sotah," VII. 1.

⁴ Chaldee and Syriac are strictly speaking two dialects of the Aramaic. Syriac is known to us through the Peshito, a translation of the New Testament made at the close of the second century. Chaldee is the name of the language spoken by the Jews on their return from the captivity in Babylon. (See Max Müller, "The Science of Language," Vol. I. pp. 320, 321.) ⁵ Gen. xxxi. 47.

potamia. Its name is derived from Aram, fifth son of Shem. The ancient Syrians were his descendants and designated their country by his name. Aramaic has therefore been known from all antiquity in the part of Syria lying north of Palestine. When the Hebrews were carried into captivity, this Aramaic dialect, brought from the north, was introduced into the devastated country. The exiles, on their return, found it spread everywhere, and gradually adopted it.¹ They spoke this dialect, introducing into it, as we have said, many Hebrew expressions. The Book of Ezra and the Book of Daniel are in great part written in this language.² The Mishnah quotes a sentence in Aramaic of the date of the Maccabees,³ and the New Testament shows beyond question, that Aramaic and Chaldee were universally spoken in the first century. We find in the Gospels, the following words, many of them used by Christ: Abba,⁴ Aceldama,⁵ Gabbatha,⁶ Golgotha,⁷ Mammon,⁸ Messias, or rather Meshiah,⁹ Pascha.¹⁰ Eli, Eli, lama sabachtani,¹¹ Raca,¹² Satanah,¹³ Talitha.¹⁴ So also with proper names, Cephas, Martha, Tabitha. The difference between Hebrew and Chaldee was so great that the people did not understand the law unless it was translated.¹⁵ Jesus, having been brought up at Nazareth, would probably speak Chaldee with the Galilean accent. An inhabitant of Jerusalem would

¹ It is possible that the Jews had already adopted this language during the captivity. (See Renan, "Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques," 2nd ed. p. 214 and foll.)

² Ezra iv. 8 to vi. 18, and vii. 12-28; Dan. ii. 4 to vii. 28.

³ "Eduyyoth," VIII. 4.

⁴ Mark xiv. 36.

⁵ Acts i. 19.

⁶ John xix. 13.

⁷ Matt. xxvii. 33.

⁸ Matt. vi. 24.

⁹ John i. 42.

¹⁰ Matt. xxvi. 17.

¹¹ Matt. xxvii. 46 and parall.

¹² Matt. v. 22.

¹³ Matt. xvi. 23.

¹⁴ Mark v. 41.

¹⁵ "Megillah," IV. 4, 6, 10.

recognise this. "Thy speech bewrayeth thee,"¹ was said to Peter, a native of the shores of the sea of Tiberias. The Galileans were looked upon as careless speakers. "The men of Judea are careful in their speech; the men of Galilee are not."² Certain words were cited which they pronounced badly, for example the word *amar*, the first letter of which (aleph) they articulated so imperfectly that no one could tell if they meant to say ass, wine, wool or lamb.³ They confounded the *bēth* and the *kaph*, and did not distinguish the gutturals, *chēth*, *hē*, 'ayin.

Did Jesus know Greek? Probably not so as to speak it. It has been thought that some passages in the Gospels imply that He understood it.⁴ These passages do not seem to us very conclusive. The Syro-Phenician woman may not necessarily have spoken Greek; and the Greeks of whom John speaks were the "Dispersion among the Greeks," as the text clearly says. Those spoken of in chap. xii. had come up to worship at the feast, and would doubtless speak Chaldee. Nor is it probable that the conversation Christ held with Pilate was in Greek. If the procurator did not understand Chaldee, he would certainly have had an interpreter. The Romans could not carry on their administration in Judea without dragomans.⁵ It must not be forgotten that the Greek language was more than despised in Palestine in the first century; it was execrated.⁶ The passage from the

¹ Matt. xxvi. 73.

² Babyl., "'Erubin," 53. ³ Babyl., "'Beracoth," 32, 1.

⁴ Mark vii. 26; John vii. 35; xii. 20.

⁵ The people who accused Jesus before Pilate did not know either Greek or Latin, and the words "Crucify Him, crucify Him," were undoubtedly spoken in Aramaic. Pilate understood them; therefore he either knew their language or had an interpreter.

⁶ Mishnah, "Setah," IX. 14; "Ant. Jud.," XX. 11, § 2.

Talmuds has often been quoted: "He who teaches his son Greek is accursed like him who keeps pigs;" and when the Mishnah tells us that Gamaliel knew Greek, the Gemara excuses him on the ground that he was "obliged to have relations with the family of the Herods." This hatred was an element of patriotism. St. Paul, when he wanted to be well understood in a public harangue in Jerusalem, spoke Chaldee.¹ Josephus, when he was sent with the flag of truce during the siege, also used this dialect.² He was obliged to translate every word spoken by Titus, and all that the most cultivated men could do was to read with tolerable ease the Greek exergue of the coins.³ We know, indeed, that the inscription on coins struck by Antipas was in Greek without any Chaldee translation.

On the other hand, it is evident that the Jews picked up unconsciously a large number of Greek words, and it is possible that this language was more widely diffused than is generally supposed. Paul might have been able in the discourse just referred to, to express himself in Greek. It seems, according to the text, that this was what he was expected to do, and that if he had done so, a large part of his hearers would have understood him. We find in the Mishnah, Greek words, for example, *asthones*,⁴ *lestai*,⁵ *pinax*,⁶ transcribed in Hebrew characters. The language had been forced upon them, and the violence of Antiochus Epiphanes had partially succeeded. Greek was also spoken in some foreign synagogues, those of the Cyrenians, Alexandrians,

¹ Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2.

² "B. J.," V. 9, § 2; VI. 2, § 1, 2, 4, 5.

³ Matt. xxii. 20; Luke xx. 24.

⁴ "Beracoth," II. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, "Shabbath," II. 5.

⁶ "Shabbath," XII. 4.

Cilicians,¹ and others. Herod the Great had among his troops Thracians, Germans, and Gauls.² These men must have spoken Greek more or less ; and lastly, in some cities inhabited by Gentiles, like Cesarea and Scythopolis, it was absolutely needful to speak Greek in order to be understood at all. A certain number of Jews had therefore come to know Greek, but in spite of themselves, without any love for it, and they would even pride themselves on speaking it badly.³ In common conversation, and even before Greeks who did not know Aramaic, they would speak only their own language.⁴ They thus gave themselves mysterious airs, talked of their affairs without being understood, and in this way increased the contempt with which they were everywhere regarded.⁵

¹ Acts vi. 6 ; ix. 29.

² "Ant. Jud.," XVII. 8, § 3.

³ "Ant. Jud.," XX. 11, § 2.

⁴ "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 6, § 10. This passage is not entirely conclusive however ; it is alluding to a special fact from which it might not be fair to generalise.

⁵ We are speaking here only of the Jews inhabiting Palestine. Those who were scattered through the empire, the Jews of Alexandria, for example, spoke Greek, or rather Hellenic, an idiom full of Hebraisms. The Septuagint and the New Testament are written in this idiom.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HOME LIFE.

Jewish Children.—Their Birth.—Circumcision.—Education and Instruction.—Schools.—What was the Early Instruction received by Jesus?—Manual Labour.—The Jewish Woman.—Her Place according to the Law of Moses.—Her Place according to the Talmuds.—Her Religious Inferiority.—Facility of Divorce.—Contradictory Opinions of the Rabbis.—Letter of Divorce.—Slavery.—Quotations from Ecclesiastes.—Quotations from the Talmuds.

BEFORE describing the dwellings, food, and clothing of the Jews, and entering into the details of their daily life, we shall speak first of the children and their education, and of the condition of the Jewish women. We shall also refer to the great events in the life of the family—marriage, divorce, and burial.

Many of the details into which we are about to enter will be taken from the customs of the Israelites as we find them described in the Old Testament, but these are always confirmed by the present habits of the Arabs in Palestine. We are obliged to adopt this plan because the documents belonging to the time of Christ are silent on the questions before us. In thus accepting the indications of the Old Testament, and confirming them by what we see in our own day, we can be as certain of accuracy as if the books of the first century gave

us all the details we want. In the East, the usages of daily life do not vary; this is a fact upon which too much stress cannot be laid. The East is stationary. In Palestine the same customs have survived not only the most terrible convulsions through which any country has ever passed, but also a total change of the population. The Arabs of to-day have the same practices as the Jews of old. Many of these are described in Genesis, and are as old as the times of the patriarchs.

JEWISH CHILDREN.

It is well known that among the Jews the birth of a child was hailed with special delight, and the barrenness of a woman was a reproach, and might even be made sufficient reason for a divorce. There was less joy over the birth of a daughter than of a son; yet much care was bestowed upon her education.¹ A midwife assisted at the birth.² The child was bathed and rubbed with salt to harden the skin, and then wrapped in swaddling clothes.³ The father, who was not present at the time of the birth, then came in and took the child upon his knees. If the grandfather was still living, he sometimes had this privilege.⁴ It was expressly forbidden to make an exhibition of the children. Philo has an admirable chapter on this subject;⁵ and although the law of Moses says nothing on this point, it is certain that the exhibition of children, as practised by the Greeks and Romans, horrified the Jews. The mothers

¹ Ecclus. xlii. 9, 10.

² Gen. xxxv. 17; xxxviii. 28.

³ Ezek. xvi. 4.

⁴ Gen. l. 23.

⁵ See the fragment of Philo translated by E. Havel, "Le Judaïsme," p. 437.

nursed their children themselves, and the Talmud enjoins this as a duty.¹ Great personages, however, had wet nurses for their infants.² They were not weaned till two or three years old, and on this occasion there was always a feast.³ Women still nurse their children very late in the East; it is found the best way to save them from the sicknesses incident to the climate, which in Palestine is very trying to the young. They suffer much in teething, and are liable to dysentery and smallpox.

Boys were circumcised eight days after their birth.⁴ Tradition said that this day was chosen because the mother ceased to be unclean on the seventh day if she had born a boy, though not till the fourteenth if the child was a girl. He who circumcised the child used the following words: "Blessed be the Lord our God, who has sanctified us by His precepts, and given us circumcision." The father of the child continued: "Who has sanctified us by His precepts, and has granted us to introduce our child into the covenant of Abraham our father."⁵ The child was named the same day, because it was said God changed the names of Abraham and Sarah when He gave the covenant of circumcision. The child's name was usually one already borne by one of its relations.⁶ The ceremony over, a family meal followed.⁷

When the fixed time of purification was passed (seven days for a boy and fourteen for a girl), the mother still remained at home thirty-three days for a boy and sixty-six for a girl. Then she went up to the Temple, and

¹ "Cethubboth," 64 a.

³ Gen. xxi. 8.

⁵ "Shabbath," fol. 137, 2.

⁷ Jerus., "Beracoth," ch. 6.

² 2 Kings xi. 2.

⁴ Luke ii. 21.

⁶ Luke i. 61.

if she was rich, she brought a lamb for an offering ; if poor, the law permitted her to offer only two young pigeons or a pair of turtledoves.¹

The education of the child in Hebrew families was carried on at home. We nowhere find any trace of public schools before the return from the exile. After the restoration, the scribes founded schools, but they were not for children. The first Jew who seems to have concerned himself with the instruction of youth, lived a century before Christ. He was a Pharisee, the president of the Sanhedrim, brother to Queen Salome, and called Shim'on ben Shattach. It was he who opened the first school in Jerusalem for children. He called it Beth-hassepher (the house of the book) ;² but what was one school for the whole of Palestine ? More than a century passed by, and it was only in the year 64 after Christ that public schools were founded generally. The high priest, Jesus ben Gamala, made the founding of schools obligatory ;³ every town was to have a primary school. If the city was very large, or divided in two by a river difficult to cross, two schools were to be built.⁴ If the place was poor, the synagogue might be used as a school during the week.⁵ "Perish the sanctuary," exclaimed the rabbis, "but let the children go to school."⁶ And again : "The breath of the children who attend school is the strongest safeguard of society."⁷

There was a master for every twenty-five scholars.⁸ If the school had not twenty-five scholars, it did not have a special master, but was conducted by the

¹ Luke ii. 23, 24.

² Jerus., "Cethubboth," VIII. 11

³ Babyl., "Baba Bathra," 21 a.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 21 b.

⁶ Babyl., "Shabbath," 119 b.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Babyl., "Baba Bathra," 21 a.

chazzān,¹ or factotum of the synagogue, of whom we shall speak presently.²

All these details given in the Talmuds about the schools for children in Palestine, and many others, are not applicable to the time when Jesus was a child, for the public schools were only established in the year 64.³

What means of instruction were there at Nazareth between the years 4 B.C. and 10 A.D., that is to say, in the time of the Lord's boyhood? Was there already a free school, or class for the townspeople's children, taught by the chazzān? This seems to us extremely likely, though we have no positive proof. Perhaps on the Sabbath day there was a catechising, or what we should now call a Sunday-school, for the Talmuds speak of the chazzān who teaches the children to read on the Sabbath day,⁴ and they recommend mothers to take their children to the synagogue.⁵ In any case, the mode of education differed widely from ours. As soon as the child could speak, his mother taught him a verse of the law. She chose verses relating to the proclamation of the unity of God and the election of Israel.⁶ When the child knew one text, he was taught another; then a written scroll of the verses was placed in his hands that he might recite them. The written character was the Chaldee, the same which is still in use in our day. The child learned to know the letters, and by constantly repeating them in cadence with his little companions, he was able after a time to read.⁷ We do

¹ Mishnah, "Shabbath," I. 3.

² See Book II. ch. vi. : The Synagogue.

³ We think, therefore, that M. Sabatier is mistaken in saying that a school was always attached to the synagogue.

⁴ "Shabbath," I. 8.

⁵ Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 17 a.

⁶ Babyl., "Ta'anith," 9 a; "Succah," 42 a.

⁷ "Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs," Levi, § 6.

not imagine that, in His early childhood, Jesus received any other teaching but this. At the age of twelve years He was obliged, like all other boys of His age, to recite the "Shema',"¹ the words of which He had no doubt long known by heart. We love to think of Him at this time on His return from His first journey to Jerusalem, beginning to be "about His Father's business," borrowing during the week the manuscript of the synagogue, and studying in it the Torah and the prophets, especially Isaiah and Jeremiah, who seem, judging from His teaching, to have been His favourite writers.²

Had He access to others? Did He read Daniel, Enoch, the Psalms of Solomon? We cannot tell. The Book of Daniel would not be likely to be found at Nazareth. It is possible, however, that He may have been able to procure it, for it was much studied at the time, and His prophetic discourses show that He was well acquainted with it. About the Book of Enoch we know only one thing,—that it was in great favour among the contemporaries of Jesus, and that the sentence which he pronounced on Judas is found there almost verbatim: "Better were it for that man if he had never been born." But was Jesus acquainted with other apocryphal writings? We have no proof that He was. In any case His first lessons must have been from the book of the law. It was a current belief among the Jews in His time that it was Moses who had commanded the children to learn the most important

¹ On the "Shema'"; see Book II. ch. x.: Prayer.

² Jewish families often had manuscripts of certain portions of the Old Testament. The poorest always managed to procure some portions of the law and of the Psalms. It is possible that Joseph and Mary may have possessed some parts of the Scriptures.

laws, saying: "that in these they would find the highest wisdom and the true source of happiness."¹ Josephus speaks of the ardour with which the young studied the law. He himself seems from his own account to have known it all at fourteen years of age.² Philo made the study of the law of the very first importance, and St. Paul reminds Timothy that, "from a child he had known the holy Scriptures."³

At twelve years of age the child was to observe the Torah, and took the name of *Bar Miçoah*. He was then taken up to the Temple feasts, and began to fast regularly, especially on the great Day of Atonement.⁴

The "Pirke Aboth," some parts of which are certainly anterior to Christianity, thus fixes the various stages of the child's development.⁵ "At five years of age he should commence sacred studies; at ten he should devote himself to the study of tradition; at thirteen he should know and fulfil the commands of Jehovah; at fifteen he should bring his studies to perfection."

These studies did not amount to much. A knowledge of reading, possibly writing, and the power of repeating by heart the most important passages of the Torah; this was all the learning of the young Israelites, of those at least who were brought up in the country. Later on, if the young man wished to become a rabbi, and if the scribes who attended to the synagogue service saw in him any special aptitude, they would engage him to enter their schools, and would teach him to argue after the manner of the Targums and Midrashim. Jesus

¹ "Ant. Jud.," IV. 8, § 12; "Contr. Apion," II. § 25.

² "Vita," § 2; "Contr. Apion," I. § 12.

³ Philo, "Leg. ad Caium," § 31; 2 Tim. iii. 15.

⁴ "Yômā," fol. 82, 1.

⁵ "Pirke Aboth," V. 21.

certainly did not attend the schools of the Sophērim.¹ The lack of education did not imply any inferiority at this time. The social relations were developed chiefly by intercourse among neighbours. The scarcity of books prevented much isolated work or individual study. Most of the teaching was *vivâ voce*; information was gained by contact with men. Then there was much unoccupied time. In our climate, labouring men work twelve or fifteen hours a day to gain a livelihood, and have no time for educating themselves. In the East, poverty is almost unknown; compulsory labour and the struggle for life are still more rare. Food and clothing suffice. Men have no extraordinary needs, and the easy conditions of life allow ample leisure to all. The Jew of the first century, like the Arab of to-day, passed long hours of every day in contemplation; and when he had worked a little at his trade, and performed his religious duties, he could rest and meditate at his ease. But every man had a trade; usually it was that of the father, whose duty it was to teach his son to earn a living. "On the father," said the Talmud, "devolves the duty of circumcising his son, of teaching him the law, and of instructing him in a trade."² Hence Jesus was a carpenter.³ Rabbi Judas said: "If a man does not teach his son a trade, it is as if he taught him to steal."⁴ The Jews eschewed menial and arduous occupations,⁵ such as being ass or camel drivers, or boatmen.⁶ Hillel and 'Akibah, two of the most illustrious

¹ "How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" (John vii. 15), that is, how can he argue with the scribes, never having been in their schools?

² "Tosaphoth Kiddushin," ch. i.

³ Mark vi. 3.

⁴ Babyl., "Kiddushin," 29 a, 30 b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 30 a.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 82 a.

rabbis, were wood-cutters ; Rabbi Johanan was a shoemaker ; Rabbi Isaac Nanacha, a blacksmith ; St. Paul was a tentmaker, or rather a weaver.¹

JEWISH WOMEN.²

The Jewish woman was much respected. Her condition was far better than that of other women of antiquity, and in this respect, as in so many others. Christianity has but diffused throughout the world, benefits which had for ages been enjoyed by the Jews. And yet what a contrast there is between the Jewish and the Christian woman ! Let us briefly state the facts, and the reader will himself draw the comparison.

It must be understood at once that we do not intend to draw any parallel between the Arab woman of our day and the Jewish woman of former times. The one was always as much respected and esteemed as the other is abused and degraded. The Jewess occupied in her home and in the consideration of her husband, a position very superior to that of the Roman matron of the same period. There was a still wider difference between the Oriental and the Israelitish woman. In the East, woman has always been downtrodden and despised. She is so still. Moses, on the contrary, at

¹ Some games of the Jewish children are known to us. One is mentioned in the Gospels, in which they repeated the words : "We piped unto you and ye did not dance, we wailed unto you and ye did not mourn" (Matt. xi. 17, and parall.). It is probable from these words, that they amused themselves by representing either the ceremonies of a marriage or a burial. They were fond also of playing with tame birds. Catullus, II. 1-4 ; Plautus, "Captiv.," Act V. 4, 5.

² It does not seem that there were schools for girls. They stayed at home and were taught by their mother.

once gave her her true place in the home, he protected her weakness and guaranteed her rights. The man who abused his strength to wrong a woman was regarded by the law as an assassin; the seducer of a young girl had to pay her a pecuniary indemnity and to marry her if she required it. We see Miriam, the sister of Aaron, dancing and singing with the daughters of Israel at the door of the tabernacle.¹ The history of Deborah shows us how great an influence woman could exert.² If married, she enjoyed great freedom.³ The chapter in the Book of Proverbs about the "virtuous woman" could not have been written except in a country where there was a high idea of the dignity of a wife, of her privileges and duties. One fact alone suffices to prove that she was thus regarded—the little inclination which the Jews had for polygamy. It is strange that it is not forbidden by Moses, but it is still more remarkable that it was so rare, and finally disappeared altogether. The Book of Genesis, while it tells us of the polygamy of the patriarchs, reproves it emphatically in its double account of the creation.⁴ If David and Solomon kept harems, they acted in opposition to the practice of the nation,⁵ and it was impossible for any strict observer of the law to have several wives, for Moses proclaimed the equal rights of husbands and wives,⁶ and set a ban upon eunuchs.⁷ If bigamy was sometimes practised by the Hebrew, it was

¹ Exod. xv. 20; xxxviii. 8.

² Judg. iv.; see also Judg. xxi. 21, 23; 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 8; the history of Athaliah (2 Kings xi. 13); of Huldah (2 Kings xxii. 14).

³ Judg. xiii. 9; see history of Abigail (1 Sam. xxv. 14, 18, 19, 20, 37); of Michal (2 Sam. vi. 20); of the Shunammite (2 Kings iv. 22, 24); of Ruth.

⁴ Gen. i. and ii., particularly ii. 24. See also Deut. xx. 7.

⁵ Lev. xviii. 18.

⁶ Exod. xxi. 10.

⁷ Deut. xxiii. 1.

only to assure seed. To have a large family, and to perpetuate the race of Israel, was one of the chief concerns of the faithful Jew. The people's hearts were always set upon their earthly future. The Israelites believed that they should become as numerous as the sand upon the sea-shore, and their first care was to hasten the coming of this glorious time. Women of evil life were very ill regarded. They never received among the Jews the homage with which the Greek courtesans were surrounded; and the frightful corruption described by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans (chap. i.), had not made its way into Palestine.¹ The children of Israel never felt anything but invincible disgust for pagan debauchery. Thus throughout the whole of the Old Testament, the dignity of woman appears equal to that of man. Both are created in the likeness of God. In one passage in the law it is said "Ye shall fear every man his mother and his father."² The mother is here mentioned first; there is no difference in the respect due from the children to both parents. In the first century monogamy was firmly established according to the law, at least in practice, and in the Mishnah we find very beautiful sayings about the respect due to a wife from her husband.³ "The man owes his wife great respect, for it is only by the wife that prosperity comes to a man."⁴ "He must love his wife as himself, and respect her more than himself."⁵ "Beware of vexing your wife, for the tears are always ready to flow."⁶ In these beautiful precepts

¹ Except perhaps among certain personages in high life, to whom Josephus refers.

² Lev. xix. 3.

³ The Mishnah allows a woman to kill a man who is attempting to dishonour her. "Sanhedr., VIII. 7.

⁴ "Baba Meçi'a," 59 a.

⁵ "Yebamoth," 62 a.

⁶ "Baba Meçi'a," 59 a.

we have an anticipation of the teachings of St. Paul as to the mutual duties of husbands and wives. It was said again : "The death of a good wife is for the man who loses her as great a calamity as the destruction of Jerusalem."

These precepts, however, do not give us the whole mind of the rabbis about woman. They were fully persuaded that, from a religious point of view, the woman was inferior to the man, and they were far from assigning as noble a part in life to the one as to the other. Boys were circumcised ; there was no religious ceremony at the birth of a girl. At twelve years of age boys were taken to the Temple. No age was fixed for girls ; they might be taken or not, as it happened. Within the sanctuary women had their place apart, behind that of the men. The religious education of the women was much neglected. Some rabbis even spoke of giving them none.¹ They said : "As to teaching the law to a woman, one might as well teach her impiety";² and as they wanted a text to go upon, they quoted the words, "Ye shall teach your precepts to your sons." The daughters are not named ; they are not meant therefore to be taught the precepts of the law.

The Talmud of Babylon places in the same category among the plagues of the world, "the talkative and the inquisitive widow, and the virgin who wastes her time in prayers."³ The "Pirke Aboth" advises men not to enter into "idle talk with women."⁴ And Hillel used this hard saying : "Women foster prejudices."⁵

¹ Mishnah, "Sotah," III. 4.

² "Kiddushin," fol. 29 *b* ; "Sotah," III. 14.

³ Babyl., "Sotah," 22 *a* ; comp. 1 Tim. v. 13.

⁴ "Pirke Aboth," V.

⁵ "Pirke Aboth," II. 7.

The women lived to a great extent apart from the men. The men frequented the street, the public place, the discussions in the Temple. The women stayed at home. If the windows of their rooms looked upon the street,¹ they were closed by a grating or blind.² The married women only went out entirely veiled.³ It was not decorous to speak to a woman in public. She was not even recognised by a salutation. The salutation of the angel to Mary⁴ was altogether opposed to Jewish usage.⁵ Rabbi Samuel said: "Men must not ask a service from a woman, nor salute her"; and we see in the Gospel⁶ that the disciples were astonished that Jesus should speak *to a woman*, even apart from the fact that she was a Samaritan woman, which made it stranger still. "It is forbidden for a man to speak to a woman in the street, even to his own wife," we read again in the Talmuds;⁷ and the Pirke Aboth advises that there be not much talk with women.

It is certain that women were exempted from observing any religious duties on fixed days or at set hours. A woman was not bound to wear phylacteries, to recite the *Shema*,¹ to be present at the reading of the law, to wear fringes to her mantle, to hear the sound of the shōphār at the feast of Rōsh Hashānāh, or to dwell in a tent at the feast of Tabernacles.² These duties were not forbidden, but she was excused from them, and in the

¹ Comp. Judg. v. 28.

² Judg. v. 28; Cant. ii. 9; 2 Kings xiii. 17.

³ 1 Sam. i. 12. The Talmudic tradition says: "The woman who transgresses the Jewish law is one who appears in public with unveiled head, who shows herself in public places, and speaks to the first man she meets."

⁴ Luke i. 28.

⁵ "Kiddushin," fol. 70, 1,

⁶ John iv. 27.

⁷ "Yoma," fol. 240 a.

⁸ Mishnah, "Beracoth," III. 3.

synagogues there were always many more men than women.

It cannot be denied that, in some cases, the woman was put almost on a par with the slave. For instance, she could not give evidence in a court of justice,¹ except to attest the death of her husband. In fact, her legal subjection was absolute. She was the property of her father before her marriage, and of her husband after. The father might marry his daughter as he pleased, and even "sell" her. This is expressly said in the law,² and the Talmuds repeat it.³ This barbarous law was softened by some supplementary conditions. First: the master who bought a young girl was either to marry her or to give her to his son. Second: she was free at the end of six years. Third: her master could not re-sell her. Fourth: if neither he nor his son married her, he was bound to help to redeem her.⁴ Such were the ordinances of Moses, and they were still adhered to in the first century. If the father had had his daughter married while she was still a child, she could, on reaching her majority, break off her marriage. This could be done by simply declaring before witnesses that she refused to have the husband who had been given her.⁵ The husband might require his wife to do remunerative manual work. If she was rich she was expected at least to weave wool, and her husband would not consider that she was fulfilling her duties if she merely attended to the housekeeping.⁶

These arrangements, bad as they seem to us, are as nothing compared with the provisions for divorce. This was obtained with an ease and frequency quite revolting.

¹ "Shebu'oth," IV. 1.

² Ex. xxi. 7.

³ "Cethubboth," 43 *b*; "Kiddushin," 3 *b*. ⁴ Ex. xxi. 2, 7, 8.

⁵ "Yebamoth," 107 *b*, and 108 *a*.

⁶ "Cethubboth," 43 *b*.

The law of divorce was given by Moses.¹ It had given rise to such abuses that a short time before the birth of Christ, some modifications had been proposed. Shim'on Ben Shattach, who, as we have said, founded a school for children in Jerusalem, attempted, under the reign of his sister Salome, to make divorce more difficult. It was at this time that the custom of marriage contracts securing the rights of the wife and a pecuniary indemnity in case of divorce was introduced.³ Shim'on was a leader in this movement; and in the first century we distinguish clearly two parties: the one advocating divorce, the other endeavouring to fence the old Mosaic law. There could be no question of abrogating it. As we have already said, the idea of changing one iota or letter of the laws of Moses could not occur to any one at this period. The only question was whether it could be amended in practice. Hillel and Shammaï differed in opinion upon this question as upon so many others. Moses had used very vague terms in permitting divorce if a man found "some uncleanness in his wife." Shammaï understood this to mean adultery and nothing else, and he only authorised divorce in that special case.³ Some years later, Jesus Christ interpreted the Mosaic law in the same way. Hillel, whose boasted liberalism is often at fault, took this expression in the most extended sense. "If a man hate his wife, let him put her away," said he. He further defined the causes for divorce, and admitted among them the slightest pretexts. "A man may put away his wife if she prepares a dish badly; if she makes a blunder; if she lets the

¹ Deut. xxiv. 1-5.

² "Cethubboth," 82 *b*; "Shabbath," 14 *b*.

³ Jerus., "Sotah," fol. 16, 2; and "Gittin," ch. IX

meat burn.”¹ His disciples who ascribed these words to him, anticipated also certain cases which might lead to a divorce. “If a woman goes out without veiling her head, if she speaks to the first comer, if she tells family secrets.”² Rabbi ‘Akibah, the grave and famous ‘Akibah, goes so far in this extraordinary direction that he says: “If any one sees a woman more beautiful than his wife, he may repudiate his wife;” and he dares to quote in support of his theory the text, “if she has not found grace in thine eyes.”³ Josephus belonged, on this point, to the school of Hillel.⁴ Yet it must be said, to the honour of Judaism, that the national practice was better than such precepts. Even the school of Hillel was not altogether of the same mind as its leader on this point. Several celebrated Pharisees, Rabbi Yochanan, Rabbi Eliezer, and others, ranged themselves on the side of Shammai, and said, like Christ: “Let no man put away his wife except it be for adultery.”⁵ “The altar itself weeps over the man who puts away his wife,” said certain other Pharisees.⁶

Gamaliel the Elder, the master of St. Paul, and grandson of Hillel, did not adopt the opinion of his ancestor. He initiated various measures favourable to woman, and placed further difficulties in the way of divorce. He did not forbid the woman who was divorced to marry again, as Shammai and Jesus did, but he would have the first marriage legally dissolved before a second could be contracted. It was doubtless at this time, that the wise

¹ “Gittin,” IX. 10.

² “Cethubboth,” VII. 6.

³ “Gittin,” IX. 10. Comp. Matt. xix. 3.

⁴ “Ant. Jud.,” IV. 8, § 23. Among the Arabs in our day sterility is a recognised ground for divorce.

⁵ Maimon., “Mishnēh Torah, Gērushim,” X.

⁶ “Gittin,” 10 b; “Sanhed.,” 22 a.

resolution of the Mishnah was passed, allowing the woman also to claim divorce if she had occasion to complain of her husband. The law of Moses had only given the husband the right of seeking a divorce.¹

When a man repudiated his wife, he gave her a "letter of divorcement." This has come down to us through the Talmuds.² The following is a translation:—

On the.....day of the.....week of the.....month.....year of the world, according to the calculation in use in the town of..... situated by the river.....(or by the spring), I, (here follow the names, first names and surnames, of the husband), son of.....and by what name soever I am called, here present this day (repeating the date given above), native of the town of.....acting of my own freewill, and without any coercion, do repudiate, send back, and put away thee (here follow the names of his wife), daughter of... ..and by what name soever thou art called.....and until this present my wife. I send thee away now, thou (here the names of the wife were repeated), daughter of....., so that thou art free, and thou canst, at thy pleasure, marry whom thou wilt, and no one can hinder thee. This is thy letter of divorce, act of repudiation, certificate of separation, according to the law of Moses and of Israel (here follow the signatures of the witnesses).

The letter of divorce quoted in the passage in the Talmuds, and of which we have just given the translation, is signed—

Reuben, son of Jacob, witness.

Eliezer, son of Gilead, witness.

The act once drawn up by a scribe, signed by the witnesses, and given to the wife or to her proxy, the divorce was accomplished. The woman might leave the place and choose a new home. She might get her

¹ "Yebamoth," 65 *a* and *b*; "Cethubboth," 77 *a*.

² "Gittin," fol. VII. 2; IV. 1; IX. 3.

letter of divorce registered in the archives of the Sanhedrim. She was free to marry again, unless her husband had inserted a special clause forbidding it. Children of tender years were left with the mother,¹ but the father had to provide for them. At the age of six the boy was handed over to his father. The girl remained with her mother, but the father continued to maintain her. Such was the law in the first century. Jesus put an end to it by His admirable words on divorce, and it would be impossible to exaggerate the greatness of the benefit thus rendered by Christianity to mankind. The facility of divorce was, among all the nations of antiquity, a fruitful source of irregularity. In Palestine adulteries were so frequent, that the Sanhedrim had been obliged to do away with the ordeal of the "bitter waters."² Jesus sanctions divorce, it is true, but only in case of adultery; and even then he does not enjoin, he only permits it. It is not exact, therefore, to say that Jesus absolutely forbade it; indeed, who dare pretend that, under certain conditions, the bond ought to be indissoluble? But we can but admire the reserve with which He speaks: "Every one that putteth away his wife, save for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress." Jesus further forbids marriage with a divorced woman, so that He really only sanctions separation.

SLAVERY.

The Mosaic legislation is unquestionably the most humane, liberal, and enlightened of all the systems of the ancients. In the time of Christ, slavery existed in Palestine, and had been practised there for centuries.

¹ "Cethubboth," 65 *b*.

² Maimon., "Mishnēh Torah, Sotah," III.

No one thought of abolishing it, and Jesus, who came into contact with slaves—who healed, for example, the centurion's slave, who was sick¹—never spoke of the possible abolition of this horrible social plague. We must not wonder at this. The condemnation of slavery is implicitly contained in many of His sayings; but in this, as in everything else, Christ trusted to the practical working-out of the principles of the Gospel, and did not attempt to attain the end at once by violent measures. All the social and moral reformations of modern society have their germ in the teaching of Christ; but they have only been wrought out by slow degrees. Jesus sowed the seed, or, to use the figure of the Apostle, He put in the leaven which was slowly, but certainly, to leaven the whole lump.

The slave in Palestine in the first century might have a very miserable life. Hence the writer of the Book of Ecclesiasticus² said, shortly before the Christian era: "Fodder, a wand, and burdens are for the ass; and bread, correction, and work, for a servant. If thou set thy servant to labour, thou shalt find rest: but if thou let him go idle, he shall seek liberty. A yoke and a collar do bow the neck: so are tortures and torments for an evil servant. Send him to labour, that he be not idle; for idleness teacheth much evil. Set him to work, as is fit for him: if he be not obedient, put on more heavy fetters."

After these hard words, Jesus ben Sirach changes his tone and writes: "But be not excessive toward any; and without discretion do nothing. If thou have a servant, let him be unto thee as thyself, because thou hast bought him with a price. If thou have a servant,

¹ Luke vii. 2.

² Ecclus. xxxiii. 24-28

entreat him as a brother : for thou hast need of him as of thine own soul : if thou entreat him evil, and he run from thee, which way wilt thou go to seek him ? ”¹

This blending of harshness and gentleness strikes us also in the Talmuds. When the female slave of Rabbi Eliezer died, he said to those who came to console him : “ Say only as when a domestic animal dies, ‘ May God make up the loss to thee ! ’ ” The forty stripes with the bastinado might be exceeded in the case of a slave. But it was added : “ It is permitted to be severe with the slave ; but though the master has this right, the rule of mercy and of wisdom is that a man should be merciful and just ; that he should not make the yoke heavy for his slave, nor evil entreat him. ”² “ The sages of old times gave to their slaves of all the dishes which they ate, and fed their beasts of burden and their slaves before themselves. ”³

Here, lastly, is a beautiful saying of Gamaliel the Elder, dating therefore from the middle of the first century. He had a slave named Tobiah, who was very dear to him. The Talmuds often speak of him.⁴ This Tobiah died, and as Gamaliel was accepting the condolences of his friends, his disciples said to him : “ Dost thou not know that men do not receive condolences on the death of slaves ? ” “ My servant Tobiah, ” replied Gamaliel, “ was not like other slaves, for he was honest and pious. ” It would, no doubt, be easy to find among pagan philosophers like sayings, and the terrible severity of the Roman laws with regard to slaves, is apt to give a wrong impression of the way in which these poor

¹ Eccclus. xxxiii. 29-31.

² Maimon., “ Mishnēh Torah, ‘ Abadim, ’ 9.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See “ Beracoth, ” fol. 16, 2.

creatures were treated in Rome and throughout the empire in the first century. The practice of the Romans was almost always better than their laws.¹ Thus, if we compare the treatment of slaves among the Romans and the Jews, we shall find that there was not much difference; but if we compare the pagan legislation with that of Israel, we see that the laws of Moses with regard to slaves were far more humane than those of either Greece or Rome.

¹ See on this subject Gaston Boissier, "*La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins*," livre III. ch. iv.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOME LIFE (continued).

Promises of Marriage.—Betrothals.—Conditions.—Betrothal Ceremonies.—Weddings.—Wedding Rites.—No Religious Service.—Death.—The Jews Buried and did not Burn the Body.—The Bier.—Funerals among the Arabs in our Day.—Funeral Train in the First Century.—The Tombs.—The Interior of a Sepulchre.—Mourning.—Its Duration.

MARRIAGE.

JESUS often spoke of marriage in His parables.¹ He was present Himself at the wedding in Cana.² He compared Himself to a bridegroom,³ and the information which the Talmuds have handed down to us as to the manner in which marriages were celebrated among the Jews confirms in an interesting manner the accuracy of the Gospel narratives.

The law of Moses gave no directions about the customs to be observed ; but we find here and there in the Old Testament and in the Talmuds details which enable us to represent to ourselves all the ceremonies in use in the first century. We know exactly what was done before and during the marriage ceremony. There were three distinct stages—the promise, the betrothal, the marriage.

The promise was simply an engagement without anything definite. There might be a good many engage-

¹ Matt. xxv. 1 and foll. ; xxii. 2 and foll. ; Luke xii. 36.

² John ii. 1 and foll.

³ Matt. ix. 15 and parall.

ments broken off before the betrothal properly so called. Young men and maidens promised each other marriage ; then they were thrown together, got to know each other better, and decided whether they really wished to be betrothed or not. We find an interesting passage in the Mishnah about these promises which preceded the definite engagement : " Rabbi Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, said : ' There is no feast in Israel like that of the 15th of Ab and of Cippūr. On these two days the young girls in Jerusalem, dressed in white robes newly washed, go out to dance in the vineyards. They lend each other these dresses, so that none may be put to shame by not having a clean one. And what do they talk about ? Young man, look that thou choose well. Be not ensnared by beauty, but rather consider what the family is. ' Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain, but the woman that feareth the Lord she shall be praised.' " ¹

Sometimes the father disposed of his daughter under age without her consent. This was not a matter of great importance, for the engagement could be broken off afterwards. If the young girl had reached her majority her consent was required. ²

The betrothal came afterwards. This was an act of great importance. The betrothal was to last a whole year, and was as sacred an engagement as marriage itself. The young girl who was betrothed and broke her promise might be stoned like a woman who committed adultery. Engagements sealed by the betrothal ceremony were considered final.

¹ " Mishnah Ta'anith," IV. 5 ; Prov. xxxi. 30.

² " Kiddushin," 41 a. We do not know at what age men and women attained their majority. Much is said in the Talmuds about majority and minority, but we have no clear indication at what age the line was drawn.

Among the ancient Hebrews the engagement was concluded by a mutual promise given *vivâ voce*.¹ After the exile, or, at all events, at the time of the Mishnah, it became customary to have contracts written and signed ;² but the habit of looking upon the two young people as bound by the betrothal was of great antiquity.³ Before the ceremony the conditions of the marriage were fixed. Sometimes the elder brothers arranged it with the father of the young girl,⁴ who, on her part, was to give her consent to all that was decided.⁵

The question was not whether the young people knew each other, for often they had never met,⁶ and nothing was more rare than marriages of inclination.⁷ The great point to be settled was what the young man would give for his wife ; that is to say, at what price he would buy her ; for these marriages, in which it was not the father who gave his daughter a dowry, but the bridegroom who brought the money, were literally sales. The parents and friends arranged between them the price to be set on the young girl and the presents to be given. The total was called *mohar*. In our day, among the Arabs, marriage is a sale. The *mohar* was not a certain fixed sum. The father of the young girl mentioned the amount, and the young man had to accept or refuse. If he accepted, he paid the debt either in money or in kind. Sometimes he put himself at the service of his

¹ Ezek. xvi. 8 ; Mal. ii. 14.

² This writing, containing the promises of the husband to the wife, was called *Cethubboth*.

³ Deut. xxii. 23.

⁴ Gen. xxxiv. 11.

⁵ Gen. xxiv. 5-7.

⁶ Gen. xxiv. 3, 4.

⁷ The marriage of Samson is almost a unique exception (Judg. xiv. 2). So with the marriage of Jacob and Rachel (Gen. xxix. 18).

future father-in-law, and the duration of this service was the term of his betrothal.¹

The ceremony of betrothal was conducted thus : the two families met with some others as witnesses,² and the young man gave to his *fiancée*, or to her father if she was a minor, either a gold ring,³ or some valuable article, or merely a writing in which he promised to marry her. Then he said to her : " See by this ring (or this token) thou art set apart for me, according to the law of Moses and of Israel." ⁴ After this at least a year elapsed ; but the ring had been given, and only divorce or death could part the promised pair.⁵

The Talmuds give a curious reason for this long continuance of the betrothal. The young girl must have " time to get her trousseau." ⁶

If the bride-elect was a widow, the time of betrothal was reduced, but to not less than a month. The betrothed man was exempted from military service from the day of his betrothal till one year after his marriage, and during this time the young people were not to assist at any funerals nor to enter a cemetery. " Nothing but joy should fill their heart." It need scarcely be said that the wedding day closed with a feast.⁷

At the time of the Mishnah it had become the custom for the father to give a dowry to his daughter. Later on the Talmuds made this obligatory,⁸ and fifty *zūz* was fixed as the minimum.⁹ The gift brought by the

¹ Gen. xxix. 18, 27 ; xxxiv. 12. See also 1 Sam. xviii. 25-27 ; Hos. iii. 2 ; Josh. xv. 16, 17. ² " Kiddushin," 65 a. ³ *Ibid*, 1, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 5 b. This ceremony is still observed among modern Israelites, but only at the time of marriage. ⁵ " Kiddushin," 1, 1.

⁶ Mishnah, " Cethubboth," V. 2 ; Jerus., " Cethubboth," 57 b.

⁷ Gen. xxiv. 54 ; xxix. 22.

⁸ " Cethubboth," 52 a.

⁹ Mishnah, " Cethubboth," VI. 6. The *zūz* was worth about 8½d.

husband was always larger, its minimum being two hundred *zūz*.¹

The time of betrothal over, the wedding was celebrated. The young man must be at least eighteen years old,² and the girl twelve. The wedding took place on the fourth day of the week, or the fifth if the bride was a widow.³

The wedding in Cana must have taken place, then, either on a Wednesday or Thursday. The ceremony was always in the evening,⁴ at sunset. The most solemn moment, that which marked the completion of the marriage, was when the bride entered the house of her *fiancé*, her new home. Hence marriage was called "reception," or "introduction of the wife," into the home of her husband. The relations of the young girl came to her father's house to take her to the house of her husband. Sometimes the bridegroom himself came, as in the parable of the ten virgins.⁵ Her relations gave her their blessing.⁶ She went out from her father's house perfumed and adorned and with a crown on her head.⁷ She was surrounded by her young friends, who made a train for her and waved myrtle branches above her head. Each of these young girls carried a lamp which she had brought with her. This lamp was composed of a stick of wood with a little vase or plate at the end, in which was a wick with oil and wax. The Gospel speaks of "ten virgins;" sometimes there were many more than this, rarely less.

¹ If there had been seduction, the seducer was to marry the young girl and pay her dowry. Exod. xxii. 16.

² "Pirke Aboth," V. 21.

³ "Cethubboth," I. 1.

⁴ Mishnah, "Cethubboth," II. 1; Talm. I, 16; *ibid.*, 17 *a* and *b*.

⁵ Matt. xxv. 1 and foll.; see also Isa. lxi. 10; Cant. iii. 11.

⁶ Gen. xxiv. 60.

⁷ Ezek. xvi. 11-13; see also Isa. lxi. 10; Jer. ii. 32.

The bride, as she went from one house to the other, had her hair loose and floating and her face veiled. The relations going in front of her scattered ears of parched corn to the children. There were demonstrations of joy all the way she went. If the husband came to fetch her, he adorned himself also, and wore a crown. Both walked together under a canopy. In the procession were men playing drums or other musical instruments. Many carried torches, others danced and sang.¹

Joy and sorrow alike are expressed in the East by noisy demonstrations. Arrived at the house of the bridegroom, some matrons arrange the hair of the bride and hide her flowing locks under a thick veil. Henceforth she will never have her head uncovered in public. She is then led again to her place under the canopy, either within the house or in the open air, according to the season. She is placed at her husband's side, and both hear fresh words of benediction, pronounced either by one of the two fathers or by some important person present. At length comes the wedding feast.² Every guest is furnished with a wedding garment on entering the hall.³ The feast is presided over by a personage whom St. John in his Gospel calls ἀρχιτρίκλινος. It was he who gave thanks and pronounced the appointed words of benediction throughout the feast. Among other things, he blessed the wine. During the feast, gaiety and mirthfulness were *de rigueur*. Just as at funerals there were hired mourners, so at a marriage there was shown for politeness' sake a joy that was sometimes rather forced. It was good manners to exalt the bride, often ascribing to her merits which she by no means

¹ Jer. vii. 34 ; 1 Macc. ix. 37, 39 ; Matt. xxv. 1 and foll.

² Judg. xiv. 10 ; John ii. 9, 10.

³ Matt. xxii. 12.

possessed. "Lovely, gracious, blooming bride" was heard on all sides.¹ Grave men danced before the bridegroom to do him honour. "When Mar, the son of Rabbenā, celebrated the wedding of his daughter, he invited the rabbis, and as they were too jovial, he brought a vase worth four hundred *se'as* and broke it before them to moderate their transports,"²—a strange device to sober his guests and keep them from excessive rioting!

The reader will have observed that there was no religious ceremony at the marriage. The benediction of the relations and friends was all that the newly married pair received.³ The Talmuds speak strongly against free unions,⁴ but Moses instituted no marriage rite, and gave no command as to the way in which marriages were to be celebrated.

After the feast, the husband was conducted by his friends (the "friends of the bridegroom," or "the children of the bridechamber") into the apartment, whither his wife had preceded him.

The wedding festivities with the friends and relations of the newly married couple lasted seven days,⁵ "seven days of rejoicing,"⁶ the "seven days of the feast," but the full number of what were called "the days of the marriage" was thirty.⁷

DEATH AND BURIAL.

One of the evangelists tells us that Jesus one day met a funeral train coming out of a village: "Behold there

¹ "Cethubboth," 17*a* and *δ*. ² Bab., "Beracoth," fol. 31, 1.

³ Ruth iv. 11; Tobit vii. 18. ⁴ "Kiddushin," 12 *δ*.

⁵ Matt. ix. 15. ⁶ Gen. xxix. 27; Judg. xiv. 12.

⁷ "Yoma," ch. I. 1. Marriage appears to have been celebrated with more decorum in Galilee than in Judea ("Toseptah," ch. I.)

was carried out one that was dead, the only son of his mother and she was a widow.”¹

The Jews had a horror of cremation. The custom of burning the corpse, so common among the ancients, was an abomination to them. They buried their dead, and the Christian Church has always followed this custom. Belief in the resurrection of the body made the Jews averse to its destruction by fire, and the same feeling prevails to a great extent among Christians to-day. They prefer to commit the remains to the earth, where they will perish gradually, and some relics will remain, so that the thought of the possible annihilation of the dead may not haunt and trouble them with the same insistence as though every vestige of the body had been destroyed.

The Arabs in our day do not burn the body. The Koran is opposed to cremation, and their funeral observances, in Palestine at least, are precisely similar to those described in the Bible. The following were the usages of the inhabitants of Palestine in the first century. Immediately after the decease, the body was placed in an “upper chamber,”² the hands and feet were swathed in linen bands and the head bound about with a napkin.³ The whole body was then wrapped in a winding sheet and perfumed with myrrh and aloes.⁴ These perfumes were afterwards placed beside the corpse in the tomb. This was done especially when the burial was hurried, and there had been no time for embalming. The body thus prepared was placed in an open coffin, or rather upon a bier, called a *Mittah* (bed) or ‘*Éres*. In the present day, the native Arabs of Palestine observe these customs to the letter. After death, they close the eyes of

¹ Luke vii. 12.

² Acts ix. 37.

³ John xi. 44.

⁴ John xix. 40; Matt. xxvii. 59.

the deceased ;¹ they bind the hands and feet with grave cloths and enwrap the body in a winding sheet. All present kiss the dead for the last time. Then the body is laid in a coffin open at the top, so that the face can be seen. The burial takes place eight hours after death. There is no doubt this was always the custom, as in hot countries it is necessary to hasten the interment. The Jews had no hired bearers ; friends undertook the duty of carrying the corpse.³ They were anxious to pay the deceased this last tribute of affection, and there were often many ready to relieve one another as bearers. "A child dying before it is a month old, is carried in the arms, and buried by a woman and two men. A child of a month old is carried on a bier—not a bier to be lifted on the shoulders, but borne in the arms. A child of three years old is carried on a bed (*Mittah*), and so for the dead of every age."⁴

The bearers lifted the *Mittah* on their shoulders. The relations and friends followed with noisy demonstrations of grief, those loud lamentations in which the Jews so freely indulged.⁵ They uttered terrible cries, rolled on the ground, tore their garments and threw dust on their heads. They did more. They did not confine themselves to those manifestations which might be sincere as coming from the relations and friends, but they engaged professional mourners who wept and uttered piercing cries.⁶ They also hired musicians who played lugubrious airs on the flute.⁷ The poorest Israelite was

¹ This detail is mentioned Gen. xlv. 4.

² Luke vii. 14 ; Gen. xxiii. 19 ; Judg. xvi. 31 ; 1 Macc. ii. 70 ; Acts v. 6, 10.

³ Mishnah, "Beracoth," 3, 1. In our day those invited take it in turn.

⁴ "Mo'ed Katan," fol. 24, 1.

⁵ 2 Sam. iii. 32.

⁶ Jer. ix. 17.

⁷ Jer. xlvii. 3 ; Matt. ix. 23.

obliged in decency to have at least two players on the flute and one hired mourner at the death of his wife.¹ If he was rich, says Maimonides, he did everything in "a style worthy of his rank."

The Arabs of our day have no flute players at funerals. On this point alone their ceremonies differ from those of the Jews, and even among them, if the deceased was a great dignitary, they have musicians. The Arab women utter the same despairing cries as the Jewish women did of old. They tear their hair,² and chant in a dolorous tone.³

There was no religious ceremony at funerals any more than at marriages. Sometimes some one gave an oration on the life of the departed,⁴ or a priest improvised a lament.⁵

The tombs were outside the cities. It is remarkable that this hygienic measure, which is supposed to be modern, is a formal rule in the Mishnah.⁶ No grave was allowed within fifty cubits of the city wall.

Public cemeteries were rare; they were only used for the poor and for strangers.⁷ Rich families had their tombs in their own grounds. The description of a tomb of this kind is minutely given in the Talmuds.⁸ It is of the highest interest, from its resemblance to that of Joseph of Arimathea. The sepulchre was a cave or chamber cut out of the rock. Any one could walk into it, as into a grotto. The opening was square and

¹ "Cethubboth," ch. V. halac. 6. See also "Baba Meçi'a," ch. VI. halac. 1.

² See Gen. xxxvii. 33, 34, 35; 2 Sam. xiii. 19; xii. 15-23; 1 Sam. xxx. 3, 4, 6; 2 Sam. i. 11, 12.

³ See also 2 Sam. iii. 32; 1 Kings xiii. 30; Jer. xxii. 18; xxxiv. 5.

⁴ As David over Abner. 2 Sam. iii. 33, 34. ⁵ Amos v. 16.

⁶ Mishnah, "Baba Bathra," ch. II. § 9.

⁷ 2 Kings xxiii. 6; Jer. xxvi. 23. ⁸ "Baba Bathra," ch. VI.

closed by a huge stone which fitted into a rabbet. The interior of one of the tombs of which we have the description, measured four cubits by six, and contained eight graves; three on each side and two at the back. Another was four cubits long and seven high. The cave, properly so called, was preceded by a sort of vestibule, where the bearers paused, and then stooped and went into the sepulchre.¹ Here were the excavations in which the bodies were laid. Their places were marked by a kind of tablet let into the side of the wall.

The site of the tomb was indicated either by a monument or by a heap of stones. In our day these heaps of stones are placed with great care to guard the corpse from hyenas, which were doubtless still more common in old times than now.² Every year, in the month Adar, the last month of the year, the outside of the monument was whitened with lime³ crushed and mixed with water;⁴ the reason for this is given: "Why," says one of the Talmuds, "do they whiten the sepulchres in the month of Adar? Because, just as the leper cries 'unclean, unclean,' so by this white colour, the tombs say, 'Come not near us.'"⁵ Contact with a tomb was a legal defilement. Jesus likens the scribes and Pharisees sometimes to these whitened sepulchres, "which indeed outwardly appear beautiful,"⁶ sometimes to deserted sepulchres, of which there is nothing to mark the site.⁷

¹ John xx. 5 ". . . and stooping," etc. ² Jer. xii. 9.

³ Especial care was taken to restore the graves of the prophets. Matt. xxiii. 27.

⁴ "Ma'asēr Shēnī," ch. V. § 1. See also "Shekalim," I. 1. "On the 15th of the month of August, they repair the roads, streets, and places, attend to the reservoirs, and paint the sepulchres."

⁵ Jerus., "Ma'asēr Shēnī," fol. 55 c.

⁶ Matt. xxiii. 27. ⁷ Luke xi. 44.

The bereaved family gathered together on the return of the funeral *cortège*, and all partook of a common meal. This was given by the friends to the relations of the dead.¹ It was the "bread of mourners."² The number of cups sent round at certain intervals of the feast was fixed, as at the Passover supper. These cups were ten in number; two before sitting down, five during the feast, and three after.³ At the death of Rabbi Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, three more were added, but the guests became intoxicated, and the Sanhedrim decreed that the regulation number should not again be exceeded.⁴ This meal was not the only observance on the day of the funeral. Friends also came to comfort the bereaved during the early days of their sorrow, as they came to Martha and Mary when Lazarus was dead.⁵ "When the party returns from the sepulchre, they gather round the bereaved to comfort them."⁶ In visits of condolence, there was a certain fixed ceremonial to be observed. "When they return from the grave, they come in and sit down, some to console, others to weep, others to meditate on death. Then they rise, draw a little closer, and sit down again, and so on, seven times."⁷ No one opened his mouth to speak a word of comfort till the bereaved had spoken first.⁸

The mourning lasted thirty days. On the first day, no phylacteries were to be worn. For the first three days no work was to be done and no greeting exchanged. For the first seven days, no sandals were to

¹ Hosea ix. 4.

² ■ Sam. iii. 35; Ezek. xxiv. 17.

³ Jerus., "Beracoth," fol. 6, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 16, 1.

⁵ John xi. 19.

⁶ "Kethūbim," fol. 8, 2.

⁷ "Baba Bathra," fol. 100, 2.

⁸ Comp. Job ii. 13; iii. 1.

be worn, nor was any one to wash¹ or anoint himself with fresh oil, nor to read the law, the Mishnah, nor the Talmuds, nor to veil his head. For thirty days the mourner was forbidden to shave, or to put on new or freshly washed garments, or to mend a torn robe.² Generally men sat in sackcloth and ashes. The sackcloth was a sort of coarse hairy robe, quite straight, without folds or sleeves. It was bound round the waist with a cord.³ On the death of father or mother sackcloth was worn for thirty days. Widows wore it all their life.⁴ All the relations were bound to wear it at least seven days.

¹ Gamaliel excused himself from this observance on the ground of his health. "Beracoth."

² See Lightfoot, "*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*," p. 1072.

³ Isa. iii. 24.

⁴ Gen. xxxviii. 14; Judith x. 12.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DWELLINGS

Dwellings of the Poor.—Dwellings of the Rich.—The Terrace.—
The Upper Chamber.—Furniture. — Interior of a Village Home.
—The Lampstand.—The Bushel.—The Mill

FOOD.—Bread.—Cakes.—Cooking.—The Principal Meal.—
Washings.—Thanksgivings.—A Meal in the Time of King
David.—Food of the Poor in the First Century.—Locusts.—
Drinks.—Wine.—Cups.—Mid-day Meal in Jerusalem in the
Time of Christ.

THE DWELLINGS.

WE generally associate an idea of spaciousness with an Eastern house in old times. We picture to ourselves an atrium, a court surrounded by porticoes, with a fountain in the middle, a garden and great reception rooms. A Moorish house in our own time would exactly represent our idea. It is certain that there were such houses in Rome, and in all the great cities of the Empire. In Jerusalem there doubtless were such; but these were the houses of the rich. They were what we should call to-day, mansions. Ancient writers have described them to us just because of their luxury and comfort. The privileged people who lived in such houses were not many. The rest, the immense majority, composed of people of the middle or lower class, inhabited, in Rome for example, large houses in flats, on the same plan as some in our own great cities. Each family

occupied a separate apartment. The artisans lived at the top, just under the roof.¹ It is not likely that there were any of these great high houses in Jerusalem. In the East, buildings have always been low, and save for the monuments, the cities must have presented the same aspect formerly as to-day. In any case, in the villages, (and it is of the villages we are about to speak now), the houses were of the simplest and most primitive order.

Let us first visit Nazareth, and picture to ourselves the home where Joseph and Mary dwelt when Jesus was a child. Let us imagine a large white-washed cube of regular shape. Inside was only one room; there was no window, the light came in through the door, and the woman who was seeking her lost piece of money, had to light her lamp to find it.² At the present time, the lodging of an entire Arab family in Palestine consists of one great vaulted, windowless chamber. It was so in the first century. The living room, kitchen, bedroom must have been all one in the humble home of the carpenter of Nazareth. The masonry was very rough, as we may judge from the ruins with which the country is covered to-day. Stone was seldom employed; the most luxurious houses were built of the bricks of the country. These bricks were made by treading wet earth or clay with the feet,³ mixing it with straw,⁴ then baking the bricks in a kiln.⁵ Brick houses were quite common in the towns,⁶ but in the country they were only inhabited by well-to-do people.⁷ The agricultural labourers and

¹ See the description of Rome in Friedländer's learned work, "*Sittengeschichte Roms*."

² Luke xv. 8.

³ Nah. iii. 14.

⁴ Exod. v. 7.

⁵ Nah. iii. 14; 2 Sam. xii. 31

⁶ Isa. ix. 10.

⁷ Under David and Solomon, some buildings were overlaid with marble. 1 Kings viii. 9, 10, 11; 1 Chron. xxix. 2.

people of the lower classes lived in houses of clay.¹ The walls were roughly wattled and covered with clay kneaded and dried in the sun. Upon this clay there would sprout here and there, a little vegetable growth, and on the inside the saltpetre would come out in patches, which the people used to call "leprosy in the walls."² It is probable that Joseph's house at Nazareth was one of these poor abodes, built of clay and white-washed.

The homes of the rich were different. Palestine abounds in limestone, well adapted for handsome buildings, and the houses of the great often extended over a large area. An interior court, along the length of which ran a portico, like the cloister of a convent, or the Spanish *patio*, was in the centre. In the middle of the court was a well,³ and here there was a basin which could be used as a bath.⁴ Around and outside the square formed by the portico, was a sort of outer court, also enclosed by a wall. The house was entered either by a wooden door in one piece, or by a two-leaved door working on two hinges.⁵ The bolts, locks, and keys, were all of wood.⁶ Only the gates of the city had metal hinges.⁷ The way of closing was often more simple still, and instead of a bolt, merely a strap was used.⁸

The house raised upon the columns of the portico, might be of several stories. The palace of Solomon

¹ Job iv. 9.

³ Lev. xiv. 33 and foll.

² 2 Sam. xvii. 18.

⁴ 2 Sam. xi. 2.

⁵ Prov. xxvi. 14 ; 1 Kings viii 50.

⁶ Cant. v. 5 ; Judg. iii. 24, 25.

⁷ Judg. xvi. 3 ; Amos i. 5.

⁸ Hence Jesus says to Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," and adds, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven." Matt. xvi. 19.

had three stories, but this number was seldom exceeded. There were always several rooms. These were sometimes very large, and some were kept exclusively for feasts.¹ Others were bedrooms.² The splendid palace which Herod the Great built at Jerusalem,³ was still more sumptuous; but such dwellings as these were the exception. Most of the houses, even in the towns, were mean in appearance.

The dwellings of the poor were without windows, as we have said, and even in the better houses the windows were few and small. Those which looked upon the street had thick gratings⁴ before them, which could be opened at will.⁵ The rooms, except the living room, were very small. The inhabitants occupied them only at night, for in those hot climates the men lived chiefly in the open air. The visitor to Pompeii is struck with the smallness of the accommodation. None of the houses had any room to which the inmates could retire for quiet and meditation. For this, it was necessary to go up to the top story, and out upon the roof. The roof was almost flat, only sloping enough to let the rain run off.⁶ It was surrounded by a balustrade, as directed by the law.⁷ It formed thus a terrace which served as a place of retirement.⁸ The floor was of bricks,⁹ or lime mixed with sand and small pebbles crushed to powder. The roof of the houses of the poor was of earth, and upon this bed of earth, hard and dry, grass would sometimes grow.¹⁰

¹ 1 Sam. ix. 22.

² 2 Sam. iv. 7.

³ See the chapter on Jerusalem, p. 57.

⁴ Judg. v. 28; Cant. ii. 19.

⁵ 2 Kings xiii. 17.

⁶ Prov. xix. 13; xxvii. 13.

⁷ Deut. xxii. 8.

⁸ Peter went up on the housetop to pray, Acts x. 9. Such terraces are still seen in the East.

⁹ Isa. lxxv. 3.

¹⁰ Ps. cxxix. 6.

The staircase which led on to the roof was outside the house, and when any one was on the roof, he could leave the house without going inside at all.¹

Upon these terraces flax was sometimes laid to dry.² People used to take the air or even sleep on the roof in the fine season,³ doubtless in order to escape the insects. This is still customary.

The habit of dwelling in tents in summer is very general. Travellers find this a necessity in the hot season, because of the mosquitoes, and it was no doubt always so. For four months in the year, tents were set up on the terraces of the houses. On these terraces, private affairs were discussed. People repaired thither in moments of sadness,⁴ and to dwell in the corner of the housetop meant to lead a sorrowful life.⁵ When there was any tumult in the city, the roof was a favourite post of observation,⁶ or place of refuge.⁷ At the Feast of Tabernacles, booths were made on the roofs.⁸ Christ speaks of preaching on the housetops, and the Chazzān proclaimed from a housetop every Friday evening that the Sabbath had begun. When the house consisted of only one story, the terrace, surrounded by a balustrade, formed a high pulpit from which it was easy to address a crowd gathered in front of it. We can imagine also how welcome was the solitude on such a terrace, when beneath the calm splendours of an Eastern sunset, Jesus, wearied with the tumult of the day, retired thither to pray. There, far from the noisy jangling of scribes and Pharisees,

¹ See Matt. xxiv. 16, 17, and parall.

³ 1 Sam. ix. 26.

⁵ Prov. xxi. 9; xxv. 24.

⁷ Jud. ix. 51

² Josh. ii. 6.

⁴ Isa. xv. 3.

⁶ Isa. xxii. 1.

⁸ Neh. viii. 16.

He could enjoy communion with God as close and undisturbed as on the mountain top.

The terrace was often covered. It then formed a spacious room, convenient on rainy days, and which was called the upper chamber.¹ When Jesus did not teach in the open air, the only place where He could hold a meeting in the house was this upper chamber, and there can be no doubt that this was where He was when they brought the paralytic to Him, and the crowd, pressing around Him, prevented the bearers of the litter from getting in.² It is easy to understand what followed. The sick man was carried up by the outside staircase on to the roof of the upper chamber, which was slight and easily broken. One of the Talmuds mentions a very similar occurrence:³ "When Rabbi Honna died, the bier could not be got through the door, which was too narrow; so they uncovered the roof and brought it out that way."

The upper chamber was often used for purposes of teaching. "Rabbi Yochanan and his disciples went up into the upper chamber, and there they read and discussed."⁴

This practice of covering in at least a part of the terrace, and using it as a room, was very general. When it was entirely uncovered, it could only be used in the evening on account of the heat; and it was the wish to be able to resort to it at any time that led to the build-

¹ We find two words in the New Testament to designate the upper chamber: *ὑπερῶον* (Acts i. 13), literally that which is above, and *ἀνώγειον* (Luke xxii. 12), literally that which is above the earth.

² Luke v. 18, 19; Mark ii. 4.

³ Babyl., "Mo'ed Katan," fol. 25, 1.

⁴ "Shabbath," I. halac. 7; "Yuchasin," fol. 23, 2; see Mark xiv. 15; Acts i. 13; xx. 8.

ing of this sort of pavilion on the roof, for a place of retirement and prayer. Strangers to whom hospitality was shown were also lodged there.¹ The upper chamber still forms the distinctive feature of a Syrian house.² It is the guest chamber, where the guest is quartered outside the part of the house used by the host and his family in private life. The poor were generally content to leave their terraces uncovered, but the first luxury which they indulged in was an upper chamber. The rich Shunammite made one for Elisha.³ This was the most convenient part of the house, because it was large compared to the rooms inside, and was entirely independent of the rest of the building. It served for numberless uses. There the corpse was laid before burial.⁴ It was in an upper chamber Jesus met with His apostles to bid them farewell, to eat the Passover with them for the last time, and to institute the Lord's Supper. The ordinary meals he no doubt took, as they are still taken, in the court of the house and in public. After the death of Jesus, the apostles lodged in an upper chamber lent or let to them by some friends,⁵ the same possibly in which Christ had instituted the Passover, for they were strangers in Jerusalem.

The furniture of the house was extremely simple. What we call comfort, was absolutely unknown to the Orientals. As a rule, comfort is studied in proportion to the severity of the climate. The necessity of protecting themselves against cold and rain obliges men to build solid houses; and as they are compelled to spend much time indoors, they try to make their dwellings agreeable. Northern nations are far more comfortably housed

¹ 1 Kings xvii. 19.

² Bovet, "*Voyage en terre sainte*," p. 121.

³ 2 Kings iv. 8 and foll.

⁴ Acts ix. 37.

Acts i. 13, 14.

than Southern. In Palestine, people live in the open air, and the house of a poor man was as bare and comfortless in the first century as that of the poorest Arab in our day. It consisted, as we have said, of one room, which served all purposes—kitchen, bedroom, workshop; even the cattle sometimes shared the same shelter. The bed was simply a portable couch,¹ or carpets were put down to sleep upon. Mats and cushions upon which the family sat in Oriental fashion, a few vessels of clay for household purposes, and a chest or large closet completed the furniture. In this chest, the carpets and coverings, which were all of wool, were put away in the hot weather to keep them from the insects. Moths were apt to spoil everything in summer,² and in winter the rust easily got into these cellarless houses, and injured the working-man's tools.³ Then there were thieves to guard against, who might come by night, at an hour when they were not expected, and easily break through the thin walls of dried clay.⁴ The house had no chimney, and when it was cold, all that was done was to light a fire in a large brazier⁵ in the middle of the room.

Every house was provided with a lamp, a bushel, some skins for wine, a broom, and a mill. It is to be noticed that these various utensils are always named in the Gospel with the definite article—*the* bushel, *the* lampstand.⁶ There was but one in the house. This lampstand was very tall, and it was usually placed upon the ground. Sometimes then, as now, there was a stone

¹ κράββατος, in the New Testament. In Hebrew, *Mittah* or *Éres*. See Mark ii. 9, "Take up thy bed and walk."

² Matt. vi. 19; Luke xii. 33.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Matt. vi. 20.

⁵ Jer. xxxvi. 22.

⁶ Matt. v. 15.

projecting from the wall, and the lamp was set on this. It was an oil lamp with one or more burners. The poor man's lamp was made of clay. The bushel was an indispensable article in the dwelling of the peasant. It was used as a measure, as its name implies, but it also served many other purposes. Placed on the ground, and turned upside down, it took the place of a table, and the lamp was put "*on the bushel, not under it.*"¹ The family, seated round in Eastern fashion, would see the lamp, and so it would "give light to all that were in the house."² In the present day, the bushel is used as a table, and even as a dish.³ The broom served for the woman who swept the house, that is to say, the one common room of which it was composed;⁴ and the bottles of goatskin⁵ were used to keep the wine in, giving it at the same time that horrible taste in which Orientals still so much delight.

Every house had a hand-mill.⁶ The lower mill-stone (*Pelach*) was immovable and very hard. The upper (*Pelach-Receb*)⁷ was set in motion by a handle like that of the coffee-mills in use among us. Two stone vessels served to hold the grain. These customs have never changed; the same implements are to be seen in the houses of the Arabs in Palestine to-day.

Grinding at the mill was very hard work. Sometimes a donkey-mill was used,⁸ but for the most part, a hand-

¹ Matt. v. 15; Mark iv. 21; Luke xi. 33.

² *Ibid.*

³ The little Turkish tables which are to be seen in the shops of the vendors of Oriental curiosities in Paris, were originally bushels turned upside down.

⁴ Luke xv. 8.

⁵ Matt. ix. 17; Mark ii. 22; Luke v. 38.

⁶ Num. xi. 8; Deut. xxiv. 6.

⁷ Judg. ix. 53; 2 Sam. xi. 21.

⁸ The Talmuds distinguish between a donkey-mill and a hand-mill. See also Luke xviii. 2.

mill. The task of turning the mill was left to female slaves of the lowest class,¹ or to prisoners.² There were always two women to work it, and these took it in turns.³ Often during the day the sound of the grinding would be heard; it enlivened the house, and its prolonged cessation became the figure for desolation and death.⁴

The only other article of furniture which need be mentioned is the *Mezuzzah*, which we shall describe in detail in speaking of prayer.⁵ It was a little oblong box hung up at the doors of the houses and rooms, containing a roll of parchment, on which were written, in twenty-two lines, two portions of the law (Deut. vi. 4-9; xi. 13-21).

We need not speak here of the luxurious houses in Jerusalem inhabited by the rich. The interior of the high priest's house, for example, no doubt resembled the house of a Roman patrician, and such dwellings have been amply described in special works. In these houses there was splendid furniture—handsome candelabra, Eastern carpets, more beautiful than any in our day, perfumed⁶ beds of cedar wood,⁷ provided with mattresses, pillows,⁸ and coverlets. Couches on which to lie during meals were already introduced in the time of the prophets.⁹ In the first century they were in common use in Jerusalem, as we shall show in describing the meals of that period.

¹ Exod. xi. 5; Isa. xlvii. 2.

² Judg. xvi. 21; Lam. v. 13.

³ Luke xvii. 35.

⁴ Jer. xxv. 10.

⁵ See Book II. ch. x.: on Prayer.

⁶ Prov. vii. 17.

⁷ Cant. iii. 9, 10.

⁸ Prov. vii. 16; Ezek. xiii. 18, 20.

⁹ Ezek. xxiii. 41; Amos vi. 4.

FOOD.

The changelessness which characterises all Eastern life strikes us in the matter of food as much as in everything else. The food of the Arabs who live in Palestine in the nineteenth century, is the same as that of the ancient Hebrews, and the little details mentioned here and there in the Old Testament might have been written to-day. The poor ate barley,¹ the rich wheaten bread. The bread was kneaded in a trough,² and put to rise, except in the case of unleavened bread.³ The loaves were in the form of discs, round or oval. They were called *Kiccar* (a circle), and people spoke of "a circle of bread" (*Kiccar Lechem*). They were very thin, and were never cut, always broken.⁴ The loaves used by the Arabs in our day are just the same.⁵ The oven, called *Tannūr*,⁶ the same as now used in Palestine, was small; the bread was baked in it on embers. Its shape is not described in the Bible, but we may observe that the oven of the Arabs in our day is precisely similar to that of the Greeks and Egyptians, described by Herodotus.⁷ Beside bread, the Jews had what they called cakes (*uggōth*), a sort of unleavened cakes, made of flour mixed with oil.⁸ They were used especially for the offerings in the Temple. One still hears in Palestine of wafers, made with flour and honey, and fried in oil.⁹ Beside these cakes, there were others, full of little holes,

¹ 2 Kings iv. 42.² Exod. xii. 34.³ Exod. xii. 39; Gen. xix. 3.⁴ Lam. iv. 4; Matt. xiv. 19; xv. 36; xxvi. 26; Luke xxiv. 30; Acts xx. 11.⁵ Bovet, "Voyage en terre sainte," p. 41.⁶ Lev. xxvi. 26.⁷ Herod., Book II. ch. 92.⁸ Lev. ii. 4.⁹ Lev. ii. 7; Exod. xvi. 31.

like the unleavened bread of the Jews in our day. These were called *Challoth*.

The kitchen was called *Cīrayim*, a plural word which means a double firepan. Earthen vessels for cooking were regarded as impure; copper¹ vessels were used, and tinning² was understood. The ordinary utensils were the *Çinçéneth* (earthen pitcher), the *Gabī'a* (chalice), the *Cōs* (cup or goblet), the *Sēphel* (small cup), the *Mizrak* (large cup).

Dinner, the principal meal, was taken at midday.³ This is always the custom in hot countries, rest in the middle of the day being rendered necessary by the climate. We know that the Essenes used to take a bath at eleven o'clock in the morning, followed by a meal, which was, in fact, midday dinner; it is called in the New Testament *δείπνον*; ⁴ *ἄριστον*⁵ was the morning meal, breakfast. Jesus Christ was one day invited by a Pharisee to take this first meal of the day with him.⁶ The Jews, as we have said in speaking of the houses, were in the habit of eating in the open air, in a court open to all comers. We understand therefore how the woman could come in without difficulty, and break her box of ointment over the feet of Christ.⁷

Before sitting down to table, it was customary to wash the hands.⁸ This washing has always had a religious character in the East. Some plunged wholly into the water; this was the bath of the Essenes, and

¹ Lev. vi. 21; xi. 33; xv. 12; Num. xxxi. 22; Ezek. xxiv. 11.

² "H. N.," Pliny, 37, 17.

³ Gen. xi. 31; iii. 16, 32; 1 Kings xx. 16; Acts x. 9, 10.

⁴ Matt. xxiii. 6; Mark vi. 21; Luke xiv. 12, 16; John xii. 2; xxi. 20.

⁵ Matt. xxii. 4; Luke xi. 38; xiv. 12.

⁶ Luke xi. 38.

⁷ Matt. xxvi. 6 and foll.

we shall speak of it further in treating of the purifications of the Jews in the first century. The Pharisee who had invited Jesus to eat with him was astonished that He had not plunged himself into water before the meal.¹ He was then one of those secular Essenes, very numerous at that time in Palestine.²

The meal being ready, the guests sat down to table ; and being seated, each one returned thanks separately in a low voice, after which they half reclined, in Oriental fashion, upon cushions and sofas. When all were settled, one of the guests gave thanks in a loud voice for all,⁴ and the rest said Amen, or even repeated some of the words of the grace. It was customary to recline on the left side when at table ; the feet touched the ground, and each guest had a couch and sometimes a separate little table to himself.⁵ The benediction pronounced at the beginning and ending of the meal was prescribed by the Law.⁶ It was always the same formula, taken from Deuteronomy, and the Mishnah⁷ tells us it was used in the first century. We do not know if Jesus confined Himself to this formula, when He gave thanks and brake bread, or whether He used an extempore prayer.

The guests reclining around the table formed a circle, the host occupying the centre place.⁸ The Jews were

¹ Matt. xv. 2 ; Mark vii. 3 ; Luke xi. 38.

² Luke xi. 38. In this passage the word is βαπτίζεν, which cannot refer to a mere washing of the hands.

³ See Book II. chap. xiv. : on the Essenes.

⁴ "Beracoth," IV. halac. 6 ; Matt. xxvi. 20.

⁵ Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 46, 2. In earlier times people only sat (Gen. xxxvii. 25) ; but in the times of the prophets the rich already used divans. Amos complains of this. Amos vi. 4.

⁶ Deut. viii. 10.

⁷ "Beracoth," ch. VII.

⁸ The practice of having separate little tables does not seem to have been adopted by people of the lower class.

very fond of family meals, and invitations were frequent.¹ When the meal was of a religious character, or when special honour was to be shown to any particular guest, an aromatic oil was poured on his head.² The meat was brought round cut up into small pieces, and the other viands in separate dishes. The head of the family distributed the portions,³ and each one put his share upon the round loaf before him, and ate with his fingers. One dish of sauce served for all, and each in turn dipped his bread into it.⁴ There is no mention in the Bible of either forks⁵ or spoons. Knives are only mentioned once in the Book of Proverbs.⁶

What was the food used? The meats mentioned in the Bible are beef, veal, mutton, kid, poultry and game.⁷ The only vegetables mentioned are beans and lentils.⁸ Oil and salt were much used in cooking. In the time of King David there is mention of wheat, barley, parched corn, bread, wine, beans, lentils, oil olive, beef, mutton, kid, honey, milk, cheese, raisins, figs and dried fruits.⁹ All these viands, except the beef, which is now rare, are still in common use in Palestine, and it is certain that they were so in the time of Christ. Milk, butter and honey, the food for children,¹⁰ were among the most

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XIX. 10, § 8, 12.

² This remark is important as helping us to understand the passage Matt. xxvi. 7 and foll.

³ 1 Sam. i. 4.

⁴ Matt. xxvi. 23.

⁵ Forks are spoken of in Exod. xxvii. 3; but the reference in that passage is to the little forks used by the priests at the altar, and not to the utensil we know by that name in common life.

⁶ Prov. xxiii. 2.

⁷ Gen. xviii. 7; Judg. vi. 19; 1 Kings iv. 23.

⁸ Gen. xxv. 34; Ezek. iv. 9.

⁹ 1 Sam. xxv. 18; 2 Sam. xvi. 1; xvii. 29; 1 Chron. xii. 40.

¹⁰ Isa. vii. 15.

common.¹ Palestine "flows with milk and honey," said the old Hebrews. This wild honey, flowing from the hollows of trees and rocks, has almost entirely disappeared now, but it was very common at the time of the Crusades. In the first century John the Baptist lived on it.

The common articles of food on the shores of the Lake of Tiberias were fish, bread and eggs. The poor look for nothing else to-day, and one expression used by Christ seems to imply that the lake-dwellers used no other food in His time. "What man is there of you, who, if his son shall ask him for a loaf, will he give him a stone? or if he shall ask him for a fish, will he give him a serpent?"²

The lake, as we have said, was full of fish. The fishermen sold their fish in Jerusalem; and near what was called the Fish Gate,³ was a large market, supplied wholly from the Lake of Tiberias. The Tyrians entered heartily into this trade. It need scarcely be said that it has fallen into utter decay in our day, and only those who live on the shores of the lake seek their food now from its fish supply.

Among the viands in use in those days, we must not forget the locusts, which formed, as we are told, a great part of John the Baptist's food.⁴ There is nothing unusual in this. Four kinds of locusts were edible.⁵ One of the Talmuds speaks of as many as eight hundred species of the pure locust.⁶ Those who assert this would,

¹ Wild honey is meant in Ps. lxxxix. 16; Judg. xiv. 8, 14; 1 Sam. xiv. 25, 26, 27, 28. The honey of domestic bees in Cant. v. 1. See also 2 Chron. xxxi. 5; 2 Sam. xvii. 29; Prov. xxiv. 13; Luke xxiv. 42.

² Matt. vii. 9; Luke xi. 11.

³ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

⁴ Matt. iii. 4 and parall.

⁵ Lev. xi. 22.

⁶ Jerus., "Ta'anith," fol. 69, 2.

we imagine, be somewhat at a loss in naming these eight hundred species, but the fact of its being said proves that this food was in no way condemned by the doctors of the law. "He who catches locusts, hornets, and flies, on the Sabbath, is guilty," says one of the Talmuds;¹ thus showing that the taking and destroying these insects was common on the week-day. We learn from the Arabs of our day how locusts are dressed for food. Sometimes they are simply roasted and eaten with a little water and salt. "In this form," says a traveller,² "the locust is pleasant eating, and reminds one of small crayfish." But usually, the preparation was more elaborate. After killing the locusts, they were dried in the sun; the head and claws were taken off and the body ground to powder, either by a mill or in a mortar. Flour was mixed with this powder, and it was made into a sort of bread slightly bitter; camel's milk or honey was added to correct this.

The drinks in use in the time of Christ were very many. At Jerusalem, the beer of Media or Babylon³ was used, but a more refined drink was wine mixed with water.⁴ The Song of Songs speaks of "spiced wine and the juice of the pomegranate."⁵ In Palestine, as everywhere else, old wine was considered better than new, but it should not be more than three years old.⁶ Water was the beverage of the poor, and when Christ speaks of the cup of cold water given in His name, He

¹ Babyl., "Shabbath," fol. 106, 2.

² Pierotti, "La Palestine actuelle et la Palestine ancienne."

³ "Pesachim," 3, 1.

⁴ The Bible does not mention wine mixed with water; but it is often spoken of in the Talmuds.

⁵ Cant. viii. 2. See also Isa. v. 22.

⁶ "Which is the best wine? That which is three years old;" "Shabbath," fol. 129, 1; "Beracoth," fol. 51, 1; Luke v. 39.

refers to that which would frequently be in demand in a hot country and under a burning sun. The common people were fond of drinking *sēcār*, a spurious wine prepared from grain and fruits. This is no doubt that which is referred to as "strong drink" (Luke i. 15), which it is said John the Baptist was not to taste. The Latins gave the name of *Cervisia* (from Ceres) to a drink compounded of wheat or barley crushed, dried, roasted and ground, which was steeped and dressed with hops. This was, therefore, a sort of beer. Lastly, in the great heat, the workers in the fields drank vinegar mingled with water, and dipped their bread in it.¹

The wine was kept in leathern² bottles or in turned earthen vessels.³

At the present day, no one travels without a skin filled with water as part of his baggage. It is small and is attached to the saddle of the horse, or to the girdle, if the traveller is walking. Josephus speaks of porous vessels which kept the water fresh; these were in use in the time of Gideon.⁴ Glass vessels were not unknown, but they were rare and valuable. The Bible mentions glass side by side with gold.⁵ The vases represented on the Asmonean coins have handles and no covers, and those in use among the Arabs to-day are precisely the same.

Cups or glasses of somewhat larger size were used;⁶ but all the drinks, the milk, spiced wine, etc., were strained, lest any gnats should have fallen into them.⁷

Of what, then, did the midday meal of a middle-class

¹ Ruth ii. 14.

² Gen. xxi. 14; Job xxxii. 19.

³ Ps. ii. 9; Jer. xviii. 3.

⁴ Judg. vii. 16, 19, 20.

⁵ Job xxviii. 17.

⁶ Gen. xliv. 2, 12; 1 Kings vii. 50; Cant. vii. 2.

⁷ Matt. xxiii. 24.

house in Jerusalem, consist in the first century? Of fish from the lake, locusts baked in flour or honey, onions, butcher's meat. For drinks, there was the beer of Media, or wine mingled with water, and for dessert the cheapest fruits were grapes and figs. The poor had to live more moderately. The lake fishermen in particular rarely tasted meat; bread, hard-boiled eggs, and the produce of their fishing, with locusts and water, formed the staple of their daily food.¹

¹ M. Gustave Flaubert in his "*Herodiade*," has described with much wealth of erudition, the feast which Herod Antipas gave to the grandees of his court, on his birthday, when Salome came into the festal hall, and charmed the guests with her dancing. We need not reproduce this description here. We have been speaking of the ordinary food of the people. Kings and tetrarchs might, of course, if they pleased, vie with the luxury of the imperial table.

CHAPTER X

CLOTHING.

Materials in Use.—Men's Garments.—The Tunic, Robe, or Mantle.—Women's Dress.—The Veil.—Shoes.—Sandals.—Jewels.—Rings.—Ointments.—Perfumes.—Baths.—The Turban.—Religious Garb.—How Christ was Dressed.

THE Bible, and the New Testament in particular, uses several words to describe the vesture of men, but nowhere does it give a full and precise description of the ordinary costume of the Jews. It is by analogy that we can picture to ourselves the appearance of an Israelite in the first century. In this matter as in all others, the national customs have not changed, and the Arab garb of to-day is very nearly the same as that worn by the Jews eighteen hundred years ago.

The materials employed were wool for the poor ; linen, "fine linen," says the Gospel,¹ and sometimes silk² for the rich. Shortly before the exile to Babylon, cotton began to be used.

It would seem that in the time when Ecclesiastes was written, white was the festal garb.³ But the Jews always delighted in bright colours, and loved to have their fabrics dyed purple, violet, and crimson. These hues were blended sometimes with great taste, and the

¹ Luke xvi. 19.

² Ezek. xvi. 10.

³ Eccles. ix. 8.

"many coloured" tunics, which were in favour as early as the times of the patriarchs,¹ and kings,² are still in high esteem in the East. In Palestine, one may often meet women wearing tunics and robes of divers colours, all brilliant and generally tastefully blended.

The Jews of the first century always wore the tunic and mantle or robe. These were the two indispensable garments. The tunic (χιτῶν, in Greek; *chalūk*, in Hebrew) was of linen.³ It fitted the figure, had sleeves, and came down to the feet. It was worn next to the skin, or over an under-garment of linen very full and long. This *chalūk* was sometimes called *kolbin* (Greek, πολόσιον).⁴ That of the rabbi, scribe or doctor, was specially large, and yet was not to be visible more than a handbreadth under the mantle. The mantle or robe (Greek, ἱμάτιον; Hebrew, *talith*)⁵ was worn over all. Kings and prophets⁶ were in the habit of using it. It is probable that in the time of Christ, those white mantles striped with brown, now so common in Palestine, were already worn. They consist of two pieces of cloth sewn on three sides, so that they form a sort of bag turned inside out, with a hole in the middle for the head and two holes at the side for the arms. The poor had only a sort of half-mantle, or demi-robe, that is to say a single square piece of cloth thrown over the shoulder; but this was the exception. As a rule, the Jew had at least two complete suits in his possession, that he might be able to change often.⁷ A man

¹ Gen. xxxvii. 3.

² 2 Sam. xiii. 18.

³ Jerus., "Shabbath," fol. 15, 4; Babyl., "Shabbath," fol. 120, 1.

⁴ Epiphanius, Book I. chap. 5.

⁵ Jon. iii. 6.

⁶ 1 Kings xix. 13, 19.

⁷ "Two changes of raiment," Gen. xlv. 22; see also Job xxviii. 16; 2 Kings v. 5; Judges xiv. 13.

must be very poor to have only one cloak,¹ and yet this is what Christ enjoined on His disciples.² According to Luke's Gospel, He said one day: "If any man would go to law with thee and take away thy cloak, let him have thy coat also."³ This precept can be understood; a robber would naturally lay hold first of the outer garment. But Matthew puts it the other way.⁴ "If any man will take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." Under this form it is harder to understand, and we may well suppose that in transcribing, the copyists have misplaced the two words coat and cloak. Over the robe a girdle was worn.⁵ Jeremiah's girdle was of linen,⁶ that of John the Baptist was of leather.⁷ "Let your loins be girded about,"⁸ said Christ to His disciples; that is to say, be as men who have a long race to run; gather up the folds of your flowing robes, and fasten them with your girdle, that nothing may keep you back or impede your steps.

Such was the attire of the men. The priests alone wore, in addition, breeches, which reached from the loins to the knees.⁹

The dress of the women was much like that of the men; they wore also the tunic and the robe, but much larger and fuller.¹⁰ The law expressly forbade men to put on women's garments, or women, men's.¹¹

The fulness of the mantle enabled a woman to carry considerable bundles in its folds. Ruth was able to put six measures of barley into hers.¹² This custom,

¹ Hence John the Baptist's exhortation; Luke iii. 10, 11.

² Luke ix. 3; Matt. x. 10.

³ Luke vi. 29.

⁴ Matt. v. 40.

⁵ 1 Kings xviii. 46; 2 Kings i. 8; iv. 29; Job xxxviii. 3.

⁶ Jer. xiii. 1.

⁷ Matt. iii. 4 and parall.

⁸ Luke xii. 35.

⁹ Exod. xxviii. 42.

¹⁰ Ruth iii. 15; Isa. iii. 22.

¹¹ Deut. xxii. 5.

¹² Ruth iii. 15.

which still exists, was no doubt common in the first century. The bosom was filled with corn and fruits, and the girdle helped to bear the load; hence Christ speaks of "good measure, pressed down and running over."¹ The women's girdle was of linen and cotton, and went several times round the waist.² In public the women always went about, as we know, with the head entirely covered with a veil. This usage does not seem, however, to have been strictly enforced. The liberty which Hebrew women enjoyed in this respect, as compared with the degradation of the Arab women in the East to-day, is very striking.³ When a woman kept her veil down, it was forbidden under a heavy penalty to lift it; but she was free to do so herself, if she chose. "Gamaliel," says one of the Talmuds, "one day saw a very pretty Gentile woman, and pronounced the form of benediction upon her;"⁴ and Jesus said: "Every one that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery already with her in his heart."⁵ These two passages show that women sometimes had their faces exposed. We know, also, that young girls were less often veiled than married women.⁶

The foot-gear was of two kinds—*ὑποδήματα* (shoes) and *σανδάλια* (sandals). These two words, which are often used interchangeably in the New Testament,⁷ describe, however, two quite distinct things. The shoe was of soft leather; the sandal, which was for rougher

¹ Luke vi. 38

² Isa. iii. 20; Ezek. xvi. 19.

³ Gen. xii. 14; xxiv. 65; xxxviii. 14, 19; 1 Sam. i. 12.

⁴ Beracoth, IX. 2.

⁵ Matt. v. 28;

⁶ "By what signs can it be known if a woman is not married? If she appears in public with a veil over her eyes but her head uncovered." Babyl., "Kethūbim," fol. 17, 2.

⁷ Matt. x. 10; Mark vi. 9.

wear, was of hard leather. The sole was of wood, cane, or bark of the palm tree, and was fastened to the leather by nails.¹ It was customary always to have two pairs, especially on a journey; and when Christ said to His apostles, "take with you no sandals," He must have meant to say, take no pair to exchange, only those you have on your feet. The sandals were fastened on with straps,² and the leather used was doubtless then, as now, the skin of the camel or hyena. The feet being uncovered, it was needful to wash them often.³ The shoe, of which we have no minute description, seems to have been only used by the better classes. The shoes of the women were of the same soft leather which was used for the straps of the sandals.⁴ They were often adorned with little bells or metal plates.⁵

While speaking of the dress of the women, we cannot pass over the very curious passage in Isaiah on the toilet of the ladies of his day.⁶ Without describing the *articles de luxe* (*Machalaçoth*),⁷ he names a great many jewels: ear-rings,⁸ nose-rings,⁹ bracelets, necklets, chains (*Rabîd*), crescents worn round the neck, bands to keep up the hair,¹⁰ and talismans of gold, on which were graven words out of the law. The Arab women of our time still wear little silver chains, to which various coins are suspended.

The bracelets were of two sorts—for the elbow¹¹ and

¹ Babyl. "Shabbath," fol. 60, 1; "Yoma," fol. 78, 2; Matt. x. 9; Luke x. 4.

² Mark i. 7.

³ Gen. xviii. 4; xxiv. 32.

⁴ Ezek. xvi. 10.

⁵ Isa. iii. 20. The Arab women adorn themselves in the same way now.

⁶ Isa. iii. 16 and foll.

⁷ Zech. iii. 4.

⁸ See also Ezek. xvi. 12.

⁹ Gen. xxiv. 47.

¹⁰ See also Ezek. xvi. 11; Cant. i. 10.

¹¹ 2 Sam. i. 10.

for the wrist.¹ They were formed of circlets, or plates of gold or silver; these were also worn in the form of chains² and rings³ for the fingers. It must not be supposed that this kind of adornment was confined to the upper classes. It is not uncommon at the present time in Palestine, to meet even poor women in rags wearing ornaments of iron, copper, glass, or, if they can get them, of silver.

Rings for the toes or ankles are now rare; but they are still worn occasionally at Jericho and on the shores of the Dead Sea, by nomad women. Satchels, purses, bags, embroidered and fastened to the girdle, were as much in use in old times⁴ as among us now; but, strange to say, pocket handkerchiefs were not in vogue. Neither Romans nor Jews used them. If the Arabs carry them to-day, they always begin by using their fingers, and only take out the handkerchief afterwards.

The mirrors were made of bright metal, polished: they were very small and were held in the hand.⁵

Paint was much used by the women.⁶ This colouring (in Hebrew *Pooc*, in Latin *Stibium*, in Arabic *Kohl*), was used to blacken the eyebrows and eyelashes.⁷ It was a powder made with an extract of lead. It was kept in a horn tube, and applied with a silver, ivory, or bone needle. *Stibium* has been found in Egypt, in the urns and sarcophagi, with the needles for applying it. This colouring matter was undoubtedly in use in the first century, and we know from Josephus that Herod the

¹ Gen. xxiv. 30, 47; Ezek. xvi. 11.

² Isa. iii. 19.

³ Isa. iii. 21.

⁴ Isa. iii. 12.

⁵ Exod. xxxviii. 8; Job xxxvii. 18; Isa. iii. 21.

⁶ One of Job's daughters was called Keren hap-pooc, "Horn of paint." Job xlii. 14.

⁷ 2 Kings ix. 30.

Great had his hair and beard dyed, and painted his face. The Arab women at the present day use the leaf of a shrub which they call *Al-Kenna* (in Latin, *Cyprus*); this they steep in water, and then grind to powder, after drying it in the sun. They thus obtain a powder of a deep yellow colour, of which they make an infusion with hot water, and with it they dye their nails, palms of the hands, and hair. It is remarkable that this is the very shrub named in the Canticles.¹

The use of perfumes was very widespread. They were prepared by men or women perfumers,² from various oils and unguents.³ Those which were burned in the Temple were prepared by the priests themselves. They compounded a holy oil, the basis of which was oil olive, mixed with four sorts of spices. 1st, Flowing myrrh (that which runs out of itself without any incision); 2nd, Cinnamon; 3rd, Sweet calamus; 4th, Aromatic cassia. This holy oil was not allowed to be used in common.⁴

The perfumers employed for their preparations, aloes, myrrh and cinnamon.⁵ The essences were brought from India, Arabia, and most of all from Sheba, by the Phenicians.⁶ The New Testament speaks of ointment of spikenard,⁷ and Pliny the Elder was acquainted with this aromatic root.⁸ It was used specially for perfuming wine.

House, clothes, body, hair,⁹ all were perfumed. Women especially were in the habit of carrying scent

¹ Cant. i. 14; iv. 13.

² 1 Sam. viii. 13.

³ Exod. xxx. 25; 2 Chron. xvi. 14; Eccl. x. 1.

⁴ Exod. xxx. 37

⁵ Prov. vii. 17.

⁶ Isa. lx. 6; Jer. vi. 20; Ezek. xxvii. 22.

⁷ Mark xiv. 3 and parallel.

⁸ "Hist. Nat," Book XIII. ch. iii. xii. and xxi.

⁹ Isa. iii. 20; Luke vii. 37; John xi. 2; xii. 3; Prov. xxvii. 9.

bottles. The profuse perspiration and frequent baths, drying the skin, made unguents needful. We say frequent baths, for we have no reason to suppose that the use of baths was less prevalent in Palestine than in the rest of the empire. Undoubtedly the dirtiness of the Jew, so proverbial to-day, was also his reproach in the first century.¹ But we must not give too much weight to the reports of the Romans, always inclined to judge the Jews unfavourably. The Jewish quarters in Rome might be unsavoury and dirty to a degree; nevertheless there certainly were public baths in Judea, and bathing was habitual among the Jews of Jerusalem.

Public baths are not mentioned in the Bible, but they are in the Talmud.² It was forbidden to wash on fastdays,³ which implies that it was a habit to wash on all other days. The east wind raised such clouds of dust and sand⁴ in Palestine, that frequent baths were a necessity of health, not to speak of the religious laws which always enjoined bathing on Eastern nations. Menu made bathing a religious duty in India. In Egypt baths were commanded,⁵ and the Mohammedans, as we know, practise frequent ablutions.

Hygiene here coincides with religious observance, and several of the Mosaic ordinances are simply hygienic precepts that have become invested with a sacred character. The rite of baptism, as we shall have occasion to remark presently, has the same origin. Frequent washing, necessitated by the heat of the climate, became,

¹ "Hoc contra naturam est faciles odisse munditias et squallorem appetere," says Seneca, speaking of the Jews (Epist. 5).

² "Beracoth."

³ Bab., "Yoma," 77, 2

⁴ Isa. xxvii. 8; Job xxvii. 21; Jer. xviii. 17; Ezek. xviii. 11, etc.

⁵ Herodotus, II. 37.

little by little, a religious rite, a sacrament. The Essenes took sacred baths every day ; and the Old Testament speaks repeatedly of baths taken in rivers or within the house.¹ We know also that soap was used, or at least some vegetable alkali answering to it. Nitre and potash were known to the Hebrews.²

It will be understood that we are speaking here only of the towns. The uncleanness of the Arab peasant in our day is frightful, and the Jewish peasant was probably much the same ; especially would this be the case among those who lived far from the Jordan or the lake, in districts where water was scarce.

It remains for us to describe the head dresses. The Jews paid much attention to their hair. The young people wore it long and curled ;³ thick and abundant hair was much esteemed.⁴ Middle-aged men and priests would cut their hair occasionally, but very little. A bald head was despised ; the children jeered at it.⁵ Men wore long beards and anointed them with oil. They never cut the beard.⁶ Women liked to wear their hair in curls,⁷ or they would plait it and fasten it back with a comb and pins.⁸ This custom does not seem to have been general, however, in the first century. At any rate it was severely condemned by the early Christians, who forbade women to plait their hair.⁹

In public, women always wore a turban like men. It is dangerous at any season to expose the head to the heat of the sun in Palestine, and the turban, a thick head-dress passing several times round the head, is

¹ 2 Sam. xi. 2 ; Lev. xv. 13.

² Jer. ii. 22 ; Mal. iii. 2.

³ Cant. v. 11.

⁴ 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

⁵ 2 Kings ii. 23.

⁶ Lev. xix. 27 ; xxi. 5 ; 2 Sam. x. 4, 5.

⁷ Isa. iii. 16.

⁸ Mishnah, "Shabbath," § 1.

⁹ 1 Pet. iii. 3 ; 1 Tim. ii. 9.

absolutely necessary. It was called in Hebrew *Sudar*,¹ σουδάριον, *Sudarium*, handkerchief. It was of white linen or cotton. Kings and common people all used it alike, and the high and pointed *beretta* which the priests wore on their heads² was a special arrangement used in the Temple only. The necessity of having the head covered was such that it gradually came to be regarded as unbecoming to uncover it. Prayer was offered with covered head. The priests, as we have said, had the head covered in the Temple, and in the synagogues men never uncovered. This usage is still continued.

The men did not indulge in any extravagances of dress, but they liked to carry a stick and wear a signet ring.³ This ring was worn on one finger of the right hand or was sometimes suspended round the neck⁴ by a cord or chain. The seal or signet was used for signatures.⁵ The sticks in use were of various descriptions. Herodotus speaks of those of the Hebrews in Babylon, and remarks that they all had some ornament at the top; such as a rose, an apple, a *fleur de lis*. They were therefore just like our canes. They were indispensable in the first century as a protection against dogs, which abounded in the open country, and were always half-wild.

We may observe, in conclusion, the religious garb worn by the devotees among the Pharisees. Their distinctive articles of dress were two—the Tephillin and the Çiçith. The Tephillin (φυλακτήρια in Greek,⁶ phylacteries), were little boxes of metal or bands of parch-

¹ "Shabbath," 77 b.

² Exod. xxix. 9.

³ Gen. xli. 42; Jer. xxii. 24.

⁴ Cant. viii. 6.

⁵ We find in the New Testament the word στολή (Luke xv. 22; xx. 46), which means the *tunica talaris*, that is the ceremonial dress of men; it came down to the ankle; the scribes always wore this.

⁶ Matt. xxiii. 5.

ment fastened by straps on the hands or head. They contained passages of the *Mezuzzah*,¹ and other texts² relating to the passover and the redemption of the first-born. The Mohammedans also wear passages of the Koran, engraved upon plates of metal, and the Jews of Palestine still have phylacteries bound upon their arms and forehead.³

The Çiççith (κράσπεδα)⁴ (tufts), were blue fringes, placed at the four corners of the robe, or mantle, as commanded in the law.⁵ The Pharisees wore broad phylacteries and very long fringes.

Let us try in closing this chapter to picture to ourselves what sort of dress Christ habitually wore. He had neither the fine linen nor the sumptuous raiment of those who live in kings' houses; neither had he a long flowing robe like the scribes and Pharisees. Upon His head He must always have worn the turban, the national head-gear, used alike by rich and poor. Painters make a mistake when they represent Christ bare-headed. As we have said, every one wore the head covered.⁶ The turban He wore was probably white.⁷ It was fastened under the chin by a cord, and at the side fell down to the shoulders and over the tunic. Under His turban He wore His hair rather long, and His beard uncut. His tunic (χιτών), the underneath vesture, was of one piece without seam; it was therefore of some value,⁸ and had probably been given Him by one of those

¹ On the "Mezuzzah," see Book II. ch. x.: On Prayer.

² The passages, Exod. xiii. 1-10 and 11-16.

³ For details about Phylacteries, see Book II. ch. x.

⁴ Matt. xxiii. 5.

⁵ Num. xv. 37, 38; Deut. xxii. 12.

⁶ "Kiddushin," 31 a.

⁷ All the turbans were white. "Shabbath," 77 b.

⁸ John xix. 23; "Bathra," 37 b.

women who "ministered to Him of their substance." Over this He wore the talith (ἱμάτιον), loose and flowing. This mantle was not white, for we are told it became white during the transfiguration.¹ It was not red, for that was only the military colour.² It is possible it was blue, for blue was then very common; or it may have been simply white with brown stripes. In any case, Jesus had at the four corners of this mantle, the *ῥιζζιθ*, the blue or white fringes of which we have just spoken.³ He wore sandals on His feet, as we learn from John the Baptist;⁴ and when He was travelling, going from place to place, He doubtless wore a girdle round the loins and carried a stick in His hand. His apostles accompanied Him, wearing the same garb. At a little distance came some women: "Mary, that was called Magdalene; Joanna the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward; Susanna, and many others."⁵

¹ Matt. xvii. 2. Painters usually represent Christ in white. It is true that the Essenes wore white robes, and we know that Jesus adopted some of their customs; but the passage quoted seems to us decisive. "His garment *became* white." Then it was not so before.

² Isa. lxiii. 1.

³ Matt. ix. 20; xiv. 36; xxiii. 5, etc.

⁴ The word ὑποδήματα must certainly be translated here by sandals. Matt. iii. 2; Mark i. 7; Luke iii. 16; John i. 27.

⁵ Luke viii. 1-3.

CHAPTER XI.

PUBLIC LIFE.

Weights. — Liquid Measures. — Solid Measures. — Measures of Length. — The Cubit. — Coins. — The Divisions of the Year ; the Month ; the Day. — Dates of the Great Feasts. — Direct and Indirect Taxation. — The Publicans. — The Tax Collectors. — The Temple Tax. — Taxes Paid to the Herods.

PUBLIC life was carried on entirely in the open air, in the streets, on the open places, and in small towns around the gates, where was the well, and where the market was held. There the people gathered in the early morning, and in the evening when the sun was set. In the daytime the heat was too great, at least during the greater part of the year. Let us make our way into one of the great cities of Palestine, into Jerusalem for example. The market is held there in the morning, in the broader streets, of which there are not many. In describing the Holy City, we have observed that the shops are in the open air ; they are, in fact, stalls. Trades are also carried on in the open. The modern workshop has no existence ; every one works out of doors. The houses are too small, too uncomfortable, too hot to be occupied during the day. The ancients, Greeks and Romans as well as Orientals, lived out of doors. Each man wore some distinctive sign of his profession. The money changers, for example, who carried on their trade in the courts of the

Temple, and whose little tables Jesus overturned, had a coin hung to their ear;¹ the dyers carried a sample of stuff; the public scribes, a pen; the tailors, a needle.²

The Jews have always been a trading people. They had in the first century the same genius for commerce as now. This is obvious from the prominent place which Jesus gives in His parables to the bank, the talents,³ the stewards, and questions of interest, capital and revenue. Christ made use of such comparisons because He knew how familiar they were to His hearers, and the Fathers have handed down to us a saying of His which is not in the Gospels, but which belongs to the same order of thought: "Be good bankers," He is reported to have said one day.⁴

The method adopted by the Jews in their purchases is shown to us by a passage in the Book of Genesis.⁵ Abraham wanted to buy the cave of Machpelah of one Ephron, that he might bury his wife Sarah in it. Ephron says to him: "I give it thee." Abraham refuses it as a gift, and insists on paying the price of the cave. Ephron still refuses, but at the same time exclaims: "A piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt thee and me?" Abraham understands that Ephron is only refusing out of politeness and that he has named his figure. The patriarch counts out to him the four hundred shekels, and he accepts them. Now, this is

¹ They stood also on the public places, and set out their stalls in the open air. This is still done. C. Bovet, "*Voyage en terre sainte*," p. 48.

² Jerus., "Shabbath," 3 *h*.

³ Matt. xxv. 14 and foll.; Luke xvi. 1, etc.

Reuss, "*History of Christian Theology*," vol. i. p. 222, note 4, English Translation.

Gen. xxiii. 3 and foll.

exactly the way in which the Arabs do their buying and selling in the nineteenth century. The polite refusal of the seller, who, while he names his price, exclaims: "What is that betwixt me and thee?" the affectation of at first wishing to part with his merchandise for nothing—all this is repeated constantly in our day, and there can be no doubt that it was so in the first century.¹

The weights in use were of stone, and the sellers carried them in a bag suspended at their girdles,² as is still done in the East. Police agents, a sort of lictors (*virgiferi*), were deputed by the Sanhedrim to test them from time to time.

We may enumerate the weights and measures mentioned in the New Testament, commencing with the liquid measures.

We read in the Gospel³ of a *bath* (in Greek, βάτος). This very ancient measure was equal to 8½ gallons. This was the Attic *Metrētēs* (firkin), mentioned by St John.⁴ The ancient Hebrews divided it into six hins. The hin contained 1¼ gallons. This was again divided into twelve logs. The log was simply the ξέστης of the Greeks, of which Mark speaks.⁵ (In Latin *sestarius*, in French *setier*). It was a little less than a pint (=·95) and was the 72nd part of a bath.⁶

The Romans used a measure which was equal to half the hin of the Hebrews, and which they called the *Congius*. It was equal to 5·76 pints, and was divided into six sextarii.

In spite of the assertions of Josephus however, and

¹ Pierotti, "La Palestine actuelle dans ses rapports avec la Palestine ancienne," p. 330.

² Lev. xix. 36; Prov. xi. 1; xvi. 11, etc.

³ Luke xvi. 6.

⁴ John ii. 6; see 2 Chron. iv. 5.

⁵ Mark vii. 4.

⁶ "Ant. Jud.," VIII. 2, § 9.

the use of the word *ξέστης* by St. Mark, it seems clear from recent researches, that the hin, and consequently the sextarius, were no longer used in Palestine in the first century.¹ This measure (in Greek *ἕνιον*) was Egyptian.

The Jews in the time of Christ had adopted a sort of decimal system, for they divided the bath (called also ephah) into ten omers,² and for the higher measures they had the chomer, equal to ten baths, and the léthec, value five baths.

These were their liquid measures. Of solid measures only one, the cor (*κόρος*),³ is mentioned in the New Testament. The precise value of this measure is not known. According to some calculations, which seem to be exact, this cor was divided into thirty modii, each equal to almost half a gallon. The cor then must have been exactly fourteen gallons and six pints. But Josephus⁴ gives it the value of ten Attic medimni, and the medimnus, a solid measure among the Greeks, was equal to 11·4 gallons. The cor on this computation must have been equal to 114 gallons. There is reason to think that Josephus is here led into error by his desire to assimilate the Jewish customs entirely to those of the Greeks.

For lineal measure they used the cubit. The old Hebrew cubit was equal to 21·26 inches;⁵ but during the captivity, the Jews adopted that of Babylon, which was only equal to 17·7 inches.

¹ Grätz, "Geschichte der Juden," III. p. 671 and foll.; Herzfeld, "Recherches métologiques," 1865, p. 58. Mark's inaccuracy is easily explained. He is writing for Latins, and uses the word sextarius, with which they were familiar.

² Lightfoot, "Horæ," on Matt. xiii. 33.

³ Luke xvi. 7.

⁴ "Ant. Jud.," XV. 9, § 2.

⁵ 2 Chron. iii. 3.

This length of the cubit is generally adopted by all critics, and it is upon this basis that we have calculated all the measures given by Josephus.¹ It need scarcely be said that this is only an approximate calculation, and that the precise length is difficult to ascertain. The difficulty is all the greater because every nation had its cubit: the Egyptian was equal to 450 millim. (17·7 inches); the royal to 525 millim. (20·76 inches); the Olympic to 402 millim. (15·82 inches). Each cubit was divided into two spans, each span into six palms, and each palm into four digits. The fathom was four cubits. The twenty fathoms of which we read in the Acts represented then 118 feet, and the fifteen fathoms which the tempest-tost mariners found a little farther on = 88 feet 6 inches.²

The Sabbath day's journey,³ which was 2,000 cubits, was therefore five-eighths of a mile. For more extended measures they had the stadium (*στάδιον*), which is supposed to have been about 208 yards. Emmaus, which was sixty stadia from Jerusalem,⁴ was therefore distant

¹ Winer, "R. W. B.," Art. ELLE. Littré "Dict. de la langue française," Art. Coudée. M. Chauvet, in his article on Jerusalem, "L'Encycl. des sciences religieuses," vol. vii. p. 268, says: "Pour la coudée de Josèphe, on hésite entre le djamed de 0^m 262 ou la coudée royale, 0^m 125." These figures are incomprehensible to us. There must be a printer's error in this passage of a very learned article, for if we calculate even at the highest figure given—262 millim. per cubit,—the measurements given by Josephus would be altogether too insignificant for the Temple or any other such building. If on the contrary we take 45 centimeters for each cubit, we get very probable proportions. M. de Saulcy, in his "Voyage en terre sainte," gives the measurements of the foundations of several towers mentioned by Josephus, and his figures accord with this basis—namely, 45 centimeters to a cubit. See also Munk, "Palestine," p. 397.

² Acts xxvii. 28.

³ Acts i. 12.

⁴ Luke xxiv. 13.

rather more than seven miles. With reference to the coins, the Talmuds gives us sufficiently clear indications. As we are only speaking of the time of Christ, we have nothing to say of the many curious coins struck by the Jews during the war from 66 to 70 A.D. At the beginning of the first century, the strictly Hebrew coins dated from the time of the Maccabees. Beside these, Greek and Roman coins were in use.¹ But only Jewish money could pass in the Temple; hence the absolute necessity of money-changers. These, instead of remaining outside the gates, set up their stalls, without any right, inside the first court.

The denarius (= penny) was equal to nearly $8\frac{1}{2}d.$, and was the ordinary pay for a day's labour, as shown by the parable of the labourers in the vineyard.² The drachma,³ Greek money, had exactly the same value. It is called *zūz* in the Talmuds (*zūzim* in the plural). Thus the words *zūz*, denarius, and drachma, all represent the same piece of money. Fifty *zūz* was equal to 203 grains of silver.⁴ The stater, called also the *traphik*,⁵ was the most common of all the coins. It was worth four drachmæ, that is to say about 2s. 10d. of our money. It was also called the silver shekel.⁶ Two drachmæ formed the didrachmon, or half shekel (1s. 5d.), and represented the tribute which every Israelite paid yearly

¹ We refer the reader to M. de Saulcy's able works on Jewish Numismatics. See also Schürer "Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte," p. 364 and foll.; Munk, "La Palestine," pp. 400-403, etc.

² Matt. xx. 2.

³ Matt. xvii. 24, etc.

⁴ Weil, "La femme juive," p. 26.

⁵ There was a *traphik* worth only 4d., this must not be confounded with the stater.

⁶ "Ant. Jud.," III. 8, § 2.

to the Temple.¹ The golden shekel was of much higher value £1 11s. 9½*d.* of our money. The silver denarius² shown to Jesus,³ was a Roman coin, for the Jewish *zûz* did not bear the image of the emperor.

The denarius was divided into many lesser coins. The smallest was the mite (*λεπτόν*, *prutah* in Hebrew).⁴ It was worth only 0·44 of a penny. Mark speaks of "two mites which make a farthing."⁵ The farthing then represented 0·88 of a penny. The following is a list, gathered from the Talmuds, of the smaller coins in use among the Jews in the first century, with their exact value in our money.

The Denarius	= 8·448 <i>d.</i>
The Meah=one-sixth of the denarius, or ...	1·408 <i>d.</i>
The Pondion, or half-meah	= 704 <i>d.</i>
The As, or half-pondion	= 352 <i>d.</i>
The Lemis, or half-as	= 176 <i>d.</i>
The Quadrans, or half-lemis	= 088 <i>d.</i>
The Prutah, or Lepton, or half-quadrans ...	= 044 <i>d.</i>

Eight Lepta therefore made an as; Sixteen Lepta a pondion; Thirty-two Lepta a meah; and six of the latter, a denarius, which represented 192 lepta or 96 quadrantes.

The Talent was an enormous coin that weighed 85·8lbs. and was worth £211, or sixty minæ; the Mina, one hundred drachmæ, or £3 10s. 0*d.* and the Drachma, six oboli; &c.

A large number of Maccabean coins, the very same which the contemporaries of Jesus may have handled, are preserved in the "Bibliothèque Nationale," in Paris. Among them is a silver shekel like one of the thirty shekels which Judas received as the price of his treason.⁶

¹ Matt. xvii. 24. Jerome also says (Comment. on Ezek. iv. 10), that the stater was worth four drachmæ.

² This term, "a denarius," always means a silver denarius. The golden denarius was worth 22 silver ones (18s. 4*d.*).

³ Mark xii. 15, 16.

⁴ Luke xii. 59.

⁵ Mark xii. 42.

⁶ Matt. xxvi. 15.

On the one side is a lily, and in the exergue "Holy Jerusalem:" on the other a vase, which doubtless represents a vase for perfumes, or a censer. Above this vase is the letter *Aleph*, the first of the Hebrew alphabet, which stands here for year 1 (of the liberation of Jerusalem). This coin must then have been struck 142 or 141 years B.C. Around the vase, we read the words "Shekel of Israel." Thirty of these shekels are equal to £4 5s. 0d., since the shekel was equal to 2s. 10d. Reuss observes¹ that this is too high a figure, and that, according to the weight of metal, thirty shekels would not represent more than £3 5s. of our money. But we must take into account the relatively high value of money at this period, and Reuss estimates that the sum for which Judas sold Jesus was equal in value to from £20 to £24.

The Jewish year was reckoned in two different ways. The ecclesiastical year began in the spring; the civil year in the autumn.² See double table on next page.

The month Nisan was thus the first of the ecclesiastical year, and the month Tishri the first of the civil year.

We see that these months did not correspond exactly to ours. Nisan, for example, began about the middle of March and ended about the middle of April, and so on with the rest.

Moreover, these were lunar months, they were therefore shorter than ours. The moon's revolution occupies only twenty-nine days twelve hours forty-four minutes and three seconds; thus the lunar month consisted approximately of twenty-nine days twelve hours and three-quarters.

¹ "La Bible, Comment. sur les synoptiques," p. 625.

² Wieseler, "Synopsis," p. 437-484. Schürer, "Neutestamentliche Geschichte," p. 669. Chavannes, "Revue de théologie de Strasbourg," 1863. p. 218 and foll.

ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR.	CIVIL YEAR.	
1st month.	7th month.	Nisan = { March,
2nd "	8th "	{ April,
3rd "	9th "	Iyyar = { April,
4th "	10th "	{ May.
5th "	11th "	Sivan = { May,
6th "	12th "	{ June.
7th "	1st "	Tammūz = { June,
8th "	2nd "	{ July.
9th "	3rd "	Ab = { July,
10th "	4th "	{ August.
11th "	5th "	Elul = { August,
12th "	6th "	{ September.
		Tishri = { September,
		{ October.
		Marcheshvan = { October,
		{ November.
		Kislev = { November,
		{ December.
		Tebēth = { December,
		{ January.
		Shebāt = { January,
		{ February.
		Adar = { February,
		{ March.

The first day of the month was that on which the new moon was seen for the first time in the rays of the setting sun. Those who first saw it went immediately to the Sanhedrim, who declared the new month begun. This was usually on the evening of the twenty-ninth day of the month. If by chance the moon was not seen on the evening of that day, then the month lasted a day longer, and the new month began the next evening. Beyond thirty days, observation was useless; it was certain that the moon was new. The month thus consisted of twenty-nine or thirty days, according to the results of the observation. The months of twenty-nine days were called in Talmudic language *chāsēr* or

deficient; those of thirty days *mālē* or full. The new month, as we have remarked, began in any case at sunset; hence the invariable custom among the Jews of reckoning the twenty-four hours of the day from one sunset to another, and not as we reckon them from one midnight to another.¹ On the first day of the new month, the neomeny, or feast of the new moon, was celebrated.²

The year consisted then of months sometimes of twenty-nine, sometimes of thirty days, in unequal numbers. When it was finished, even if there had been a majority of months of thirty days, the requisite number of days was not made up; for a majority of months of thirty-one days is needed, and the Jews had no month of this length. They made up the year in the following way. The feasts of the Passover, of Pentecost, of Tabernacles, etc., besides being a commemoration of events in the religious history of the nation, were identified also with certain phenomena in the natural world. The Passover coincided with the beginning of harvest, Pentecost with its close. The feast of Tabernacles was observed when all the crops were gathered in. Moses had said: "This month (the Passover month) shall be to you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month in the year to you."³ It was called also the "month of ears" (Abib).⁴ In the Talmuds we read⁵: "Half the month Tishri, the whole month of Marcheshvan, and half of the month Kislev, form the time of sowing; half of Kislev, the whole of Tebēth, and half of Shebāt, is winter; half of Shebāt, the whole month Adar, and half of Nisan, is the close of winter; half of Nisan, the whole of Iyyar, and half of Sivan, is harvest

¹ John xix. 31; Luke iv. 40.

² Col. ii. 16.

³ Exod. xii. 2.

⁴ Exod. xiii. 4.

⁵ "Baba Meḡi'a," fol. 10 b.

time ; half of Sivan, the whole of Tammūz, and half of Abib, is summer ; half of Ab, the whole month Elul, and half Tishri, are the dog days."

The Sanhedrim, when the ecclesiastical year was finished, made an approximate reckoning of the errors occasioned by the state of the harvests and the temperature. Barley ought to be the first ripe grain, and the month Nisan should coincide with this ripening. If, at the close of the month Adar, vegetation was backward—if it was cold and the ripening of the barley required nearly another month—the Sanhedrim deferred for a month the commencement of Nisan, and introduced an intercalary month, following the month Adar, which they called *Veadar* (second Adar). The year then consisted of thirteen months, and numbered about three hundred and eighty-four days.

The month Nisan being thus fixed, the Passover began on the fifteenth day and lasted till the twenty-first. Pentecost was celebrated on the fiftieth day after the 16th Nisan. If Nisan and Iyyar were both of them *chāsēr*, Pentecost fell on the 7th Sivan ; if on the contrary both were *mālē*, Pentecost came on the 5th, and on the 6th if the one was *chāsēr* and the other *mālē*. The doubt which always exists on this point makes it impossible for chronologists to do more than fix dates within a day or two. We shall find an illustration of this when we come to give the chronology of the life of Christ.¹

The great Day of Atonement, or the great fast day, was observed on the 10th Tishri ; on the 15th of the same month began the feast of Tabernacles, which lasted seven days. To this we may add the feast of

¹ See Book II. ch. xv.: The Principal Dates in the Life of Christ.

the Dedication,¹ or commemoration of the restoration of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus, which was kept on the 25th Kislev, and the feast of Purim, or commemoration of the deliverance of the Jews in the time of Esther, which was fixed on the 14th or 15th Adar. We shall have more to say presently with regard to these feasts.²

The day was divided into hours, like our day, and the Jews probably used hour glasses and clepsydræ, though neither Josephus nor the Talmuds mention them. The day began, as we have said, at sunset in the evening, or, more exactly, at six o'clock. The night was divided into four parts or watches. From six to nine o'clock was the evening (ὄψις); from nine to midnight, the middle of the night (μεσονύκτιον); from midnight to three o'clock, cock-crowing (ἀλεκτοροφωνία); from three o'clock till six in the morning (πρωί).³ The hours were reckoned from six, both morning and evening. Seven o'clock in the evening would be the first hour of night; seven in the morning the first hour of day. Nine o'clock in the morning was the third hour of the day;⁴ mid-day the sixth hour;⁵ three in the afternoon the ninth hour,⁶ etc.

We shall conclude this chapter with some account of the taxation. The taxes were of two kinds—the tax to be paid to the Romans, and the tax for the Temple worship. The tax levied by the Romans, which in the time of Christ had been only recently imposed, played a very important part in Jewish history. It awakened in the Jews a deep feeling of revolt and hatred, for it was the brand of their slavery. "Shall we pay tribute to Cæsar or not?" This question, which was inces-

¹ John x. 22.

² See Book II. ch. xiii.: The Feasts.

³ Mark xiii. 35. ⁴ Acts ii. 15. ⁵ Mark xv. 25, 33. ⁶ Acts iii. 1.

santly raised, was equivalent to saying : " Shall we rise in rebellion ? " Why should the foreigner, after taking possession of our country, compel us to pay him money ? If we pay, we acknowledge his right over us, and are thus unfaithful to the cause of Jehovah. We are the chosen people ; we ought to be free.

We have said how bitter among the Jews was the hatred of the foreigner ; in what abhorrence they held the Roman legions that swarmed over their country ; how their patriotism was always kept in this way at boiling point. These passions were perpetually aggravated by the tax. A good patriot only paid it under protest. Judas the Gaulonite raised a rebellion against it ; and one of the bitter reproaches flung at Christ was, " He is the friend of the tax-gatherers ; ¹ He therefore consents to pay tribute."

The census was made the basis of the taxing ; hence the detestation in which it was held. As to publicans and receivers of the tribute money, they were a class of despised pariahs. Publican was the name given to an *employé* of low degree, whose duty it was to get in the tribute money. He was the agent of the farmers-general, great personages who lived by their depredations, after the publicans had themselves kept back an exorbitant percentage on the money levied. The Talmuds often betray the scorn felt for the publicans. The testimony of a publican was not accepted in a court of justice. " When the rabbis found that the publicans exacted more than was due, they rejected them," ² that is to say, they would not receive their witness. " Among those who cannot act as judges and whose witness cannot be taken, are those who levy the taxes and the

¹ Matt. ix. 11 ; Mark ii. 16.

² " Sanh.," fol. 25, 2.

publicans.¹ The tract "*Nedarim*"² classes, publicans sicarii and thieves in the same category.

In the Gospels, the publicans are often classed with sinners and Gentiles. "Let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican,"³ said Jesus, and elsewhere we read, "Then drew near unto Him the publicans and sinners."⁴ By sinners (*ἁμαρτωλοί*) we must understand here not men of immoral life, but simply those who did not accept the rules of the Pharisees, and were not exact in the observance of all religious rites. These were regarded as Gentiles; they lived like sinners of the Gentiles.⁵ It is probable that the publicans were allowed no more rights than the heathen, and that the court of the Gentiles alone was open to them. The parable of the Pharisee and the publican tells us nothing on this point, for the publican in this instance may have stood afar off not so much of necessity as out of humbleness.

The taxes were like our own, of two sorts—direct and indirect. The direct taxes were paid to the agents of the imperial treasury, and did not pass through the hands of the publican. These taxes were two—the tax on land and on personalty. The latter was probably a denarius per head.⁶

The publicans collected the indirect taxes, that is to say, the royalties on imported goods, and in part on exports also.⁷

There was a well-marked hierarchy among the publicans. Zaccheus was *ἀρχιτελώνης*⁸ ("chief among the

¹ "Sanh.," fol. 25, 2.

² "Sanh.," ch. 3. hal. 4.

³ Matt. xviii. 17.

⁴ Luke xv. 1.

⁵ Gal. ii. 15.

⁶ Appianus, "De Reb. Syr.," 49.

⁷ Titus Livius, 32, 7; Cicero, "Verrines," 2, 72.

⁸ Luke xix. 2.

publicans"). We find at the head the farmer-general, who was a Roman knight, and to whom were assigned the whole taxes of a province for a certain number of years, usually five. Under him were the *publicani majores*, the chief publicans, among whom was Zaccheus. They collected the taxes for the empire. Lastly, under their orders, came the *publicani minores*, the taxgatherers properly so called (*exactores, portitores, visitatores*, called in the New Testament *τελῶναι*).¹ They examined the goods and collected tolls on roads and bridges.

We read in Maimonides, "The publican must be looked upon as a thief, when he is a Gentile." This last expression shows that the publicans were not all Gentiles, and that Jews were found to fill this office. We know moreover that Zaccheus was a Jew. These Jewish publicans were not always exactors, and rabbinical tradition speaks of one of them who had left behind a kindly memory. "The father of R. Zeira was praised because he had been mild and honest in the exercise of his duties as publican. He held this office for thirteen years, and when the farmer-general came into a town, he was wont to say, "Go into your chamber and hide yourselves lest he should see you, and observing how many you are, increase the annual tax."

The religious tax paid for the worship and service of the Temple was a half shekel² (about 1s. 5d.). It was due from every Israelite who had reached the age of religious initiation (from ten to twelve years). It was the Sanhedrim which had decided that the expenses of the daily sacrifice paid out of the treasury of the Temple should be raised by a tax.³

¹ See also "B. J.," II. 14, § 4. ² Matt. xvi. 24 and foll.

³ Mishnah, "Shekalim," I. 3; "Megillath Ta'anith," I. 1.

This half-shekel was collected in Palestine on the 15th of the month Adar, and in the lands beyond the Jordan, shortly before the feast of Tabernacles. Elsewhere, where there were Jews, it was taken at any time.

The month Adar corresponds partly to our month of March. Now it is very difficult to make the fact reported by Matthew accord with this date.¹ It would be much easier to place it between April and October.² But it must be observed that the claim was made on Jesus on His return from His journey to Cæsarea Philippi; He was in arrears with the payment of the tax.

We have spoken of the direct tax paid to the agents of the imperial treasury. It was only received by them where the governor was a Roman procurator. In the tetrarchies it was paid to the Herods. We know that under Archelaus, Judea, Idumea and Samaria brought in about six hundred talents a year (£126,720). Galilee and Perea brought in under Antipas, two hundred talents (£42,240). Lastly, the tetrarchy of Philip yielded only one hundred talents (£21,120).

¹ Matt. xvii. 24 and foll.

² John vi. 4 ; vii. 2 ; Luke ix. 51.

CHAPTER XII.

LIFE IN THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS.

The Village Artisan.—The Agricultural Labourer.—Seedtime and Harvest. — Wheat. — Barley. — The Threshing Floor. — The Vineyards.—The Culture of the Vine.—The Winepress and Tower.—The Signs of the Times.—The Early and Latter Rains.—The Ass.—The Ox.—The Horse.—The Camel.—The Dog.—The Pig.—The Sheep.—The Wolf.—The Hyena.—The Serpent.—Insects.—Travelling.—The Highroads.—Travellers' Dress.—Salutations.—Hospitality.

IT is of interest for us to know all we can of the condition of the village artisan and his wife and children in Palestine in the first century, since this was the condition of Joseph and Mary and of Jesus as a child and as a young man. Unhappily, we have but scanty information, and that not very exact. We know that the village artisan was neither rich nor poor. Without fortune, and earning his living from day to day, he was poor in the modern sense of the word (and the number of such poor was very considerable in Palestine), but he suffered no privation; he wanted nothing, he never complained. In those hot countries, where nature is so prolific, the exigencies of life are comparatively few. The climate is so genial, and the soil so fruitful, that a man can easily gain a livelihood for himself and his family without hard work. His trade is a matter of little moment to him. In the time of Christ every man

had a trade, and manual labour was not looked upon as in any way humiliating. The son usually followed his father's calling.¹ We have seen from the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, that the day's pay was one denarius, which, although only about $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ of our money, was probably equal in value to nearly four shillings.

We find much information as to the conditions of agriculture in Palestine in the tracts *Peah*, *Demaï*, *Kila'im*, and *Sheviith*. The whole country was well cultivated.² The instruments of husbandry were of the simplest. The spade was known,³ and also the plough, which was drawn by oxen or asses.⁴ The ploughshare was of iron.⁵ The plough was without wheels, and must have been just like that in use among the Arabs of our own day. The ploughman held in his hand a goad called *dorebhān*.

One of the grains most widely cultivated was barley. Sometimes it was sown at the close of Marcheshvan⁶ (the beginning of November), sometimes in Shebāt and Adar (February, or the beginning of March).⁷ Wheat sowing began in the month Tishri (October), and went on through the winter. "Give a good portion of seed to thy field in Tishri, and fear not to sow even in Kislev"⁸ (December).

Barley harvest came in the first month of the year. It began legally on the second day of the Passover feast. Wheat ripened rather later. When Jesus was walking

¹ Matt. xiii. 55 ; Mark vi. 3.

² Of course excepting the mountainous and stony parts of Judea, which were incapable of cultivation. ³ Deut. xxiii. 13.

⁴ Deut. xxii. 10. ⁵ 1 Sam. xiii. 20. ⁶ Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 18, 2.

⁷ Seventy days before the Passover. ⁸ Menacoth," fol. 85, 1.

⁹ Targ. on Eccl. xi. 2.

through the cornfields in the month of April, the apostles found some ripe ears and ate them.¹

The threshing floor (gören) was always in the middle of the field,² and open to the sky, for in harvest time no rain was to be feared. The ox trod out the corn with its feet; and Moses says that it was not to be muzzled, so that it should have its share of the harvest.³ All these old customs were faithfully observed, and in general all the legal ordinances relating to agriculture. Great care was taken, for instance, to set apart the tithe of the harvest, to leave the corner of the field for the poor, and not to break the law of the seventh year, in which the ground was to be left fallow.⁴

One of the most important branches of labour was the culture of the vine.⁵ The Jews did not have separate vineyards as we do. They planted the olive, the fig tree, and the vine together. The vine climbed freely over the adjacent stems. These fruit-growing enclosures are called gardens in the ordinary versions of the Bible.⁶ We can picture to ourselves what this luxuriant vegetation must have been, with an undergrowth of those brilliant red anemones (*anemona coronaria*), so common in the south of France, and which are called the lilies of the field in the Gospel.⁷

In Palestine, almost all the spring flowers are red. Most of the trees in that country keep their leaves in winter, as the olive, the cypress, the terebinth, the pomegranate. The fig tree, on the contrary, loses

¹ Matt. xii. 1; Luke vi. 1.

² Judg. vi. 37.

³ See 1 Cor. ix. 9.

⁴ Lightfoot, "Horæ," pp. 167, 168.

⁵ On vine culture, the wine presses, quality of the wine, etc., see tract, "Kila'im," ch. iv. v. vi. vii.

⁶ Eccles. ii. 5; Cant. vi. 2, 11; Isa. i. 29.

⁷ Matt. vi. 28; Luke xii. 27.

them; it is therefore one of the best indicators of coming summer; "it putteth forth leaves."¹

Pliny says that, in the East, the vine was allowed to creep along the ground;² but he is not speaking of Syria. In Palestine, the vines grew straight up, and very high. People could sit under them. They usually climbed up the stems of fig trees; hence, the expression, sitting "under one's own vine and fig tree."³

The vines, or rather the vineyards, were enclosed with hedges⁴ or walls, and there were lodges and towers in them, occupied by watchmen when the fruit was ripe.⁵ The tower was usually ten cubits high, and four round. In the Mishnah we are told: "It was a high place, from which the husbandman kept watch over the vineyard."⁶ There was no vintage till the vines had been planted four years.⁷

The Feast of Tabernacles, which marked the end of all the harvests, was celebrated just at the time of the vintage. The vineyards then resounded with songs and shouts of joy.⁸ The winepress was always in the vineyard. It consisted of a stone vat, into which the bunches of grapes were thrown, and then trodden by the feet of the gatherers. At the bottom of this vat was a grated opening, through which the juice passed. It fell into a bricked reservoir in the earth beneath, or sometimes into a cavity cut in the rock. When the wine was ready, it was kept either in goat-skins or earthen vessels. The choicest vineyards were those of the Libanus and the country of Moab.

¹ Mark xiii. 28.

² "H. N.," Book XVII. ch. 35.

³ 1 Kings iv. 25; Mic. iv. 4; Zech. iii. 10.

⁴ Isa. v. 2.

⁵ Prov. xxiv. 31.

⁶ "Kila'im," v. 3; Matt. xxi. 33; Mark xii.

⁷ "Ma'asēr Shēnī," v. I.

⁸ Judg. ix. 27; Isa. xvi. 10; Jer. xxv. 30; xlviii. 33.

The soil was so fertile that, if left fallow, thorns and thistles soon covered it. We may mention, in particular, one ligneous, almost creeping thorn, still very common around Jerusalem. It is used for lighting fires, and put at the top of walls to keep off thieves. It is easily twisted into wreaths, and it is probable that this was the plant of which the crown of thorns was made.¹ The thorns are sharp, the flowers small, and the branches easily twined into a circle.

The Jews were great observers of what they called the signs of the times: "The last day of the feast of Tabernacles," says one of the Talmuds, "every one watches the smoke. If it blows to the north (*i.e.* when the wind is south), the fruits *will not keep*, for the rain will abound (hence, rich people cannot store up, but must sell at once), so the rich are sad and the poor glad. When the north wind prevails (which means a dry autumn and winter, and so the possibility of hoarding up in granaries, etc., and dear food), the rich are glad and the poor sad. When the smoke blows to the west (*i.e.* when the wind is east, or from the desert), all are sad, for there is no fruit either to store or to eat. When the wind is west, all are glad, for there is fruit enough both to store and to eat."²

This matter of the rain was very important. A distinction was observed between the early and the latter rain.³ "The early rain begins on the 3rd of Marcheshvan, the middle rain on the 7th, and the latter rain on the 17th and the 21st."⁴ The 3rd Marcheshvan would fall about October 20th. There was then every autumn what was called the early rainy season, and

¹ Mark xv. 17 and parall.

² Jas. v. 7.

³ Babyl., "Yoma," fol. 21, 2.

⁴ "Nedarim," fol. 63, 1.

it lasted till November. This was indispensable to the sowing, and when it failed, as sometimes happened, a dearth was sure to follow. The rains of the latter season were expected at the end of March and the beginning of April; these scarcely ever failed. These rains, which still fall, were much heavier in former times when the country was wooded.

Of all the domestic animals, the ass was the most in demand. It is repeatedly mentioned in the Old Testament, especially in Genesis. The horse is not even named as having formed part of the patriarchal herds. It is probable that, in those early times, the horse was not yet domesticated. We know that it was not tamed till very late, and the journey from Canaan into Egypt, under the conduct of the sons of Jacob, was performed with asses.¹

The horse was certainly rare till the times of Solomon, while there were immense herds of asses. They were used both for riding and as beasts of burden. In the first century, they were often employed in turning the mill.² The ox and ass were the two animals looked upon as indispensable. "Thou shalt not covet his ox nor his ass," said the old Decalogue;³ and Jesus said: "Which of you shall have an ox or an ass fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the Sabbath day?"⁴ . . . "I have bought five yoke of oxen," says the man in the parable,⁵ "and I go to prove them." Oxen were much used for farm work, and the expression, "Take My yoke upon you," is a figure that would appeal familiarly to a people among whom the use of oxen was so common. The horse, on the contrary, is not often mentioned in the Bible. It does

¹ Gen. xlii. 26.

² Matt. xviii. 6; Luke xvii. 2.

³ Exod. xx. 17.

⁴ Luke xiv. 5.

⁵ Luke xiv. 19.

not seem to have been used in agriculture. It is evident, from the admirable description in the Book of Job,¹ that the horse of the Hebrews was of the same race as the Arab horse of to-day. It must have been even then rare and costly, and was looked upon as specially adapted for use in war. The ass, on the other hand, was an emblem of peace.

It is singular that the camel is scarcely named in the New Testament, except in the well-known passage: "It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God;"² for there can be no doubt that the camel was largely used in the first century.

The mule must have been also in use, though it is only mentioned in the Old Testament, and there not earlier than the time of David.³

The dog is always spoken of in the New Testament with contempt. In the East this animal has never been looked upon as the friend and companion of man. It must be observed that only one kind of dog is known there, and that this is not only very ugly, but dirty, repulsive, mean. Dogs are rarely admitted into the houses; they are usually kept outside. They roam about the streets, multiplying with fearful rapidity, living on what they can find. They are looked upon as a public nuisance, and always driven away with kicks. The word cynical, which has come down to us from the Greek, shows how general was this feeling of aversion in the ancient world.⁴ "Give not that which is holy unto

¹ Job xxxix. 22 and foll.

² Mark x. 25. See also Matt. xxiii. 24: "Ye swallow the camel;" and again Matt. iii. 4.

³ 2 Sam. xviii. 9; 1 Kings x. 25; xviii. 5.

⁴ With some touching exceptions, such as the dog of Ulysses among the Greeks, and Tobias' dog among the Jews.

the dogs," said Jesus.¹ "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs."² And in this passage, where the word children stands for the Jews, the word dog applies to the Gentiles. The expression "dog of a Gentile," was as common in the first century in Palestine, as the term "dog of a Christian," became subsequently. When Jesus says that even the dogs came and licked the sores of Lazarus,³ He means to emphasise the abject misery into which the poor wretch had fallen. It was not, as has been thought, a mitigation of his sufferings that the dogs licked his sores; it is not the kindness of the dog, but the cruelty of the rich man, that is thus brought into relief. Lazarus was sunk so low that he had not even strength to drive away the dogs which came and licked his wounds thus putting the last touch to his distress.

The keeping of pigs was absolutely forbidden,⁴ as it still is in all countries where Islamism is dominant. The saying has often been quoted, "Cursed be he who teaches his sons Greek, even as he who keeps pigs." The rabbis said again: "Cursed be he who keeps dogs or pigs, for they are the cause of much harm."

Sheep, on the contrary were very common. The number of lambs required for sacrifice caused large flocks to be kept. The sheep passed the whole summer in the fields. They were taken out about Easter, and did not come in again till the first rains.⁵ The shepherd had to watch them, and was therefore provided with what is called a "watch-tower." In the month Marcheshvan, which corresponds to the half of October and the half of November, the sheep were brought back into the fold

¹ Matt. vii. 6.

² Matt. xv. 26.

³ Luke xvi. 21.

⁴ Jerus., "Shekalim," fol. 47, 3.

⁵ "Shabbath," fol. 45, 2; and "Bēṣah," fol. 40, 1.

and kept there through the winter.¹ This fact shows that there must be some error in the traditional date of the birth of Jesus. In December the shepherds were not in the fields by night.²

The shepherd, then as now, in the East, was always armed. This explains the verse in the 23rd Psalm: "Thy rod and Thy staff, they comfort me;"³ and the saying of Jesus: "The Good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep."⁴ There are still, as there were in the first century, wild beasts in Palestine.

The charge of the gate into the sheepfold was entrusted to a slave, who was called "the porter,"⁵ and who watched over the flock under the direction of the shepherd. It was specially his duty to be at the gate when the flock was brought in and to count the sheep, to be sure that none were missing. In order to take title of the flock, the sheep passed through a little gate which would only admit one animal at a time. Every tenth sheep was marked with a red colour; this was the tithe sheep.⁶

We still see in Palestine flocks in which the sheep and the goats are kept by one shepherd, but separately. From time to time a black goat gets in among the white sheep, and the shepherd is obliged to come and "separate the sheep from the goats."⁷ This fact recalls to us one of the most familiar of Christ's parables. When He uttered it, He was seated on the Mount of Olives, and perhaps He may have seen at the very moment a shepherd thus dividing the two halves of his flock.

Wolves⁸ were numerous, daring and much dreaded.

¹ "Nedarim," fol. 63, 1.

² Luke ii. 8.

³ Ps. xxiii. 4.

⁴ John x. 11 and 15.

⁵ John x. 3.

⁶ "Becoroth," fol. 58, 2.

⁷ Matt. xxv. 32.

⁸ John x. 12; Matt. vii. 15.

The Talmuds have handed down to us two significant facts bearing on this point. "The elders asked for a fast in their town, because the wolves had devoured two little children beyond Jordan;"¹ and "more than three hundred sheep, belonging to the sons of Judah ben Shammaï, were torn by wolves."²

The jackal, called the fox in the Old Testament, was also very common.³

The hyena is mentioned by Jeremiah,⁴ and it still infests Palestine. The Arabs make use of what is probably a very old device for taking it. They make pits, and cover them with branches to conceal them. The hyena falls into them, and is not able to get out. In the Bible a pit is often used as a figure for concealed danger,⁵ and in the New Testament, Jesus says, "Shall they not both fall into a pit?"⁶ an allusion probably to the manner in which wild beasts were taken in His day. We have noticed, in speaking of the graves, the precautions taken by the Jews to guard their places of burial from hyenas.

Locusts and bees were both turned to good account in Palestine. We have mentioned them already in treating of the food of the country. The locust was dreaded, however, because of its devastations, of which we have a graphic description in the Book of Joel.⁷ These ravages of locusts are now rare. In 1783, Volney

¹ "Ta'anith," ch. 3, hal. 7.

² Jerus., "Yom Töb," fol. 60, 1.

³ The *shū'al* of Judg. xv. 4 is certainly a jackal. See also Ps. lxiii. 10, where the same word is used. The animal called 'ē (Isa. xiii. 22; xxxiv. 14; Jer. l. 39) is also supposed to be the jackal. So also is the *Tan* (Job xxx. 29; Micah i. 8).

⁴ Jer. xii. 4.

⁵ Ezek. xix. 4, 8.

⁶ Matt. xv. 14.

⁷ Joel i. and ii.

the traveller witnessed one,¹ and the description he gives of it reminds us of that of the Jewish prophet.

The lion and bear have long disappeared. They are only mentioned in the Old Testament, and it is certain there were none in Judea in the time of Christ.

The serpent is called in the Bible, "subtil,"² and "wise."³ These two epithets are very applicable to the species found in Palestine, which is for the most part inoffensive. The serpent there is often the benefactor of the house. It destroys the rats, the mice, and especially the swarming insects. The Arab reveres the serpent for the services it renders. It is common to meet serpent charmers in the Holy Land; and it is a popular belief among the inhabitants, that the serpent eats dust and earth. It is curious to notice that this singular error has come down from the earliest Biblical times.⁴

TRAVELLING.

Orientalists do not travel for the sake of gaining information; they travel on business or to promote their own interests in some way. The Jews of the first century often took journeys from religious motives; for example, when they went up to Jerusalem to keep the feasts. They then formed caravans, and chanted pilgrim psalms as they went along (Ps. cxx.—cxxxv.).

We read of roads in the Old Testament;⁵ they are called "the king's highway." In the time of Josephus, there were some very ancient highways in Palestine,

¹ "État physique de Syrie," ch. 1, § 4.

² Gen. iii. 1.

³ Matt. x. 16. See also the following passages: Num. xvi. 9; Kings xviii. 4; Ps. lviii. 5.

⁴ Gen. iii. 14; Isa. lxv. 25; Micah vii. 17.

⁵ Num. xx. 17; xxi. 22.

paved with basalt and black stones, and supposed to have been made in the time of Solomon. The number of these highroads was no doubt considerable. We know six. Four of them started from Jerusalem; one going N.E. led to Perea, passing by the Mount of Olives, Bethany, the desert, Jericho, and the Jordan. It is certain, from the places through which it passed, that Jesus must have often trodden this road. So also of the second route which led into Galilee, passing through Sichem and Samaria, and going on to Damascus, and into Syria. This very important road formed the communication with Egypt. Any travellers who did not object to pass through Samaria, went from Jerusalem by this route. Jesus must certainly have taken it when he passed through that province.¹ It was a Roman paved road, still often used by travellers, and its remains are in a fair state of preservation. One day's walking brought the traveller from Jerusalem to Sichem, now Neapolis.

The third route was only the first part of that just mentioned. To the south of the Holy City, it came up out of Egypt, passing by Gaza and Hebron. A branch of this important road started from Hebron, and led directly south, by way of the desert, to the Sinus Elamiticus.

Lastly, the fourth road ran westward, and led to Joppa and to the sea. The two other high roads known to us, are that from Acco (St. Jean d'Acre) to Damascus, crossing the plain of Esdraelon, the Jordan near the lake, and Antilibanus; and that which ran along the coast from Acco to Gaza, and thence into Egypt.

The Jordan was crossed in a ferry boat at the few places where it was not shut in between steep, rocky

¹ John iv.

cliffs; for example, at Bethabara (house of passage), where John baptized.¹ Men crossed it on foot when it was fordable.² We have said that it was only traversed by one bridge, the Bridge of the Sons of Jacob, built by the Romans.

The chapters of the Gospel in which we are told that Jesus sent His disciples out on missions, give us valuable details as to the customs of the Jews when travelling, details which are confirmed by the Talmuds.

The traveller used a girdle³ for a twofold purpose—first, to gird up his loins,⁴ and so keep out of his way the folds of his long flowing robes which would have hindered his progress; and second, to carry his money. Gold, silver, and even small moneys were habitually carried in the girdle. Devotees never went on a journey without taking with them the book of the law. "Some Levites started one day from Zoar, the city of palms; one of them fell ill on the road, and the rest carried him to an inn. On their return, they enquired, after their companion. 'He is dead,' replied the hostess; 'and I have buried him.' Then she brought his staff his wallet, and the book of the law, which he had in his hand."⁵

The wallet or travelling-bag⁶ no doubt resembled that which shepherds now hang round their neck, and in which they carry their food.⁷

The sandals which Jesus enjoins His apostles not to take,⁸ were sandals to change, a second pair carried

¹ John i. 28.

² "Ant. Jud.," V. 1, § 3.

³ Matt. x. 9.

⁴ Luke xii. 35.

⁵ "Jeramoth," ch. XVI. The Jerusalem Talmud adds, "and his sandals."

⁶ Matt. x. 9.

⁷ "Shabbath," fol 31, 1.

⁸ Matt. xx. 10, and parall.

by way of precaution. It was usual also to take a second cloak, to change.

Oil and wine, and the medicines most likely to be in request, always formed part of the traveller's baggage, and it is probable that Jesus and His apostles habitually carried these with them.

Jesus commands His disciples to salute no man by the way. This order was no doubt given because of the interminable length of salutations in the East. The apostles might have wasted too much time in this way, and what was meant by this command was, "Do not loiter on your journey."

People often prostrated themselves to the ground and embraced the feet and knees of those they met. "A man coming up," says one of the Talmuds, "kissed the feet of Rabbi Jonathan."¹ Again we read, "When Rabbi 'Akibah, having been absent twelve years, came back to his wife, she threw herself on her face and kissed his knees. He entered the city, and his father-in-law, not recognising him, but perceiving that he was an eminent rabbi, also threw himself on his face and kissed his knees."²

According to the New Testament, it was customary to say *χαίρειν*³ (hail), or *εἰρήνη σοί* (peace be with you).⁴ The first of these greetings corresponds to the *Marhábá* (enlargement, may your heart be enlarged) of the modern Arabs, and the second to the *Shalôm* or *Shelāmā-'alaic* of the Talmuds (peace be with thee).⁵

¹ Jerus., "Kiddushin," fol. 61, 3. See Matt. xxviii. 9.

² Babyl., "Kethūbim," fol. 63, 1; Mark x. 17.

³ James i. 1; Acts xv. 23.

⁴ Luke xxiv. 36; John xx. 26, etc.

⁵ In Arabic they say also "*Salām alek.*" These words do not occur in the Old Testament.

Travellers generally spoke to one another. If a Jew met a Samaritan or a Gentile by the way, he would immediately fling abuse and curses at him. If he met a friend and compatriot, compliments would be exchanged and blessings pronounced. A phrase much in use was "Blessed be thy mother," or "Cursed be thy mother," according as the words were addressed to a friend or an enemy. Thus a woman one day exclaimed in the presence of Jesus: "Blessed is the womb that bare thee and the breasts which thou didst suck."¹

The New Testament speaks of an inn in the parable of the Good Samaritan, and the Talmuds do so also in the story of the sick Levite, which we have just quoted. Such hostelries were rare, and were only found in very remote parts. As a rule, the travellers lodged with some inhabitant of the place, and hospitality, the first of ancient virtues, was largely practised among the Jews. We know that Jesus, upon His journeys, was made welcome wherever He went. We can picture Him as he paused on the threshold of the door, to utter the *Shalôm* or *Shelāmā'-alaic*, the greeting of peace. As soon as He entered, the inmates gathered round Him to listen to His words, and unbidden reverence was paid Him, for this guest had sometimes more honour than the master of the house himself. The house in the village where this Stranger had stopped soon became known. The children came out of curiosity. The practice of pouring perfume over the feet of the guest to do him honour, and of breaking the vase of ointment, was frequently observed.² The doors stood open, and any might enter during the meal (which was usually taken in the open air), and thus listen to the teaching of the Stranger whom they soon learned to call Master.

¹ Luke xi. 27. ² It is so still. See Renan's "Vie de Jésus," p. 373.

CHAPTER XIII.

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS.

Architecture.—The Fine Arts.—Music.—Literature.—Its Chief Characteristic.—The Psalms of Solomon.—The Sybilline Oracles.—The Book of Enoch.—The Assumption of Moses.—The Book of the Jubilees.—The Targums.—The Fourth Book of Esdras.

M. DE SAULCY has written a large octavo volume, entitled "*L'Art Judaïque*,"¹ in which he tries to show that the Jews have been wrongly accused of despising the arts, and of remaining in this respect in a position of marked inferiority to other nations of antiquity. He goes through the Scriptures, the works of Josephus and others, he studies the noble remains of ancient monuments scattered up and down Palestine, especially those of Jerusalem and its environs, and proves that the Jews built much and have left many fine specimens of architecture. In fact, M. de Saulcy in his book speaks only of architecture, and indeed he is shut up to it, for what are called the fine arts, that is to say painting and sculpture, have always been an abomination to the Jews. They were forbidden by the law to make any graven image, or the likeness of anything in heaven or earth, or in the water under the earth.² This altogether precluded them from figure-painting and sculpture. They

¹ F. de Saulcy, "*L'Art Judaïque*."

² Exod. xx. 4.

made bas-reliefs, representing fruits—for example, the colossal vine on the Temple ; they engraved their coins with vases and flowers ; but figures of men or animals they never made, and might not make. May we suppose that they had, nevertheless, at least a feeling for the beautiful in art ? There seems no ground for thinking so, and their religious faith, with its formal prohibitions, was not likely to foster it. The feeling of artistic beauty was rather repressed as dangerous to piety and morality.

The Jews were acquainted with architecture and practised it, but there was not, properly speaking, any Jewish order of architecture. Herod the Great built much, but we know that in his buildings, he took the Greek and Roman monuments as models. Greek art in particular, exercised a great influence over the architecture of the Temple, which was built in his reign. The Jews greatly admired this building, but what they admired was rather its vast proportions than its artistic beauty ; indeed, from what we know of its construction, it must have been as ugly, heavy and vicious in style, as it was huge. “ Master,” said the apostles one day to Jesus, “ Master, behold what manner of stones and what buildings are here ! ”¹ They were proud of the proportions, the great massive pile of stone. The Jews, as a rule, are indifferent to beauty of detail. That which is refined, delicate, pretty, escapes them ; they are only impressed by that which is on a vast and overpowering scale.²

¹ Matt. xiii. 1 and parall.

² We do not know what sort of music there was in the first century. Many musical instruments are named in the Psalms, and it is certain that the Jews always liked dancing to the sound of music. The fife and the timbrel, mentioned in the time of Moses

It was the same in poetry. The Old Testament contains some beautiful passages of poetry, but all of the same character, delighting in the grand, the majestic. The Jewish poet excels in describing the windy storm and tempest; he scarcely glances at nature under any other aspect. Its calm and serene beauty escapes him. There are no descriptions of that which is merely lovely in the books of the Old Testament. This preference for the depiction of the grand scenes in nature, to the exclusion of all others, had been largely developed in the ages prior to the advent of Christianity. The contemporaries of Christ portrayed in eloquent language the coming in of the Messianic era, but always under one aspect, speaking of the elements being dissolved, the stars falling, the earth being burnt up. The literature of the age was, in this respect, the true exponent of the feverish agitation of men's minds. The intense fervour of John the Baptist, the abrupt severity of those sayings of his which have come down to us, fairly represent the other Messianic prophecies of the day. There was the familiar use of extravagant imagery—cities built of precious stones, gates of one pearl, etc. Some pages of the Apocalypse give us an idea of these over-coloured pictures, in which on the one hand all the wealth and glory of the world was

(Exod. xv. 20), are much appreciated by the Arabs in our day and form part of their national music. It is probable that in the first century, beside these instruments, the cymbal, the harp, the psaltery, the cornet, and castanets were in use (1 Sam. xviii. 6; 2 Sam. vi. 3). The return of the prodigal son was welcomed by a feast in which music played the principal part. We have already noticed how the Jews delighted in loud sounding instruments at their marriage feasts, and how the mournful and penetrating tones of the flute were heard at burials.

heaped up, and on the other there was an accumulation of all imaginable horrors.

But Jewish literature was not confined to predictions of the future; and in striking contrast to this fervid popular oratory, we may point to the style of the Talmuds—cold, colourless, and didactic. The rabbi, or doctor of the law, expressed himself in brief incisive phrases; his discourses abounded in aphorisms and antitheses. He was true in this respect to the genius of the Hebrew tongue, which has no periods, and does not lend itself to argument and discussion. The rabbi gave his teaching in short pithy proverbs, sentences and often enigmatic.

Lastly, in this rapid review of the literary forms of the first century, we must not forget the parable. Teaching in parables is the one proof of imagination left to us by the scribes, and even this is of a very limited order. They drew their comparisons from the ordinary usages of life, never indulging in any episodes foreign to the purport of their moral or religious teaching.

Seven works current among the Jews in the time of Christ have come down to us: The Psalms of Solomon, as they are called; Fragments of the Sybilline Oracles; the Book of Enoch; the Assumption of Moses; the Book of the Jubilees; the Targums, and the Fourth Book of Esdras. We shall attempt to give our readers a brief account of these, because they are of capital importance in the history of religious thought at this period. We shall look at them here only from a literary point of view.

The Psalms of Solomon were written in the year 63 B.C. This had been a disastrous year. Pompey had entered the Temple and penetrated into the very Holy

of Holies, profaning it by his presence. The distress of the Jews was overwhelming, and one of them, whose name is unknown, gave vent to his indignation in eighteen psalms,¹ imitated from the Psalms of David, and which the writer puts into the mouth of Solomon. He supposes this king prophesying in these mournful canticles the profanation of which Pompey had just been guilty. The idea is beautiful, and there is some dignified pathos in its expression, but the poems are too short for the writer to enter very fully into Messianic visions. Not so with the Sybilline Oracles.² Here the Jew pours out his grief and his hopes unrestrainedly, in long apostrophes of extraordinary vehemence. The origin of the Sybilline Oracles is most curious. The writer makes the heathen sybil speak; he makes her foretell the future greatness of the chosen people. The Jews, who had sufficiently singular ideas of the false in literature, took this method in order to convert the Gentiles. They gave them these supposed oracles, passing them off as genuine, and said to them: "This is what your own writers have said; you see that they do us justice. Therefore you should be converted to our religion, seeing your prophecies themselves render homage to its truth and to its Divine origin." We do not know if the pious stratagem succeeded; it is probable that it did, and more than one proselyte may have been gained to Judaism by this artifice. The Christians themselves

¹ Edited by Fabricius. "*Codex Pseudepigraphus N. T.*" (Hamburg, 1722.) The best critical edition is Hilgenfeld's, in his "*Messias Judæorum*," etc. (Lipsiæ, 1869.) See also Fritzsche, "*Libri Veteri Testamenti pseudepigraphi selecti.*" (Lipsiæ, 1871.)

² The best editions of the Sybilline Oracles are those of Alexandre (Paris, 1841; 2nd ed. 1869), and Friedlieb (Leipsic, 1842).

made no scruple of employing this method of propaganda, and they circulated, under the name of the Sybil, poems written by themselves, exhorting the pagans to embrace Christianity. Athenagoras, Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and above all Lactantius, believed firmly in the genuineness of these so-called oracles, and they made use of them to show to the Gentiles that Christianity had been foretold by pagan prophetesses.

The fragments of the Jewish Sybilline Oracles which have come down to us, are of very various origin. There is considerable difficulty in attaching dates to them, and the critics who have taken up this question are often completely at variance. With the exception of a few passages which are certainly anterior to and some others undoubtedly posterior to Christianity, it seems impossible to fix with certainty the date of these writings, all the more as the fragments have probably been a good deal tampered with. Of the eight sybilline books which we possess, the third alone belongs to a period unquestionably earlier than the time of Christ. The general characteristic of the revelations which it contains is the same as all those of that epoch. The seer no longer speaks like the old prophets; these only concerned themselves with the Jewish people and their immediate surroundings. Their political horizon did not extend beyond Egypt and Assyria; but during the exile, the Jew had learned to know the other great kingdoms of the world, and to take them into account. The conquests of the Persians, followed by those of Alexander, and finally of the Romans, interested him keenly. He felt that the future of Palestine was closely bound up with that of these great empires. Hence he embraced the whole world in his prophetic vision. He did not indeed write prophecies, properly so-called,

but apocalypses, revelations. It is no longer God who speaks through his mouth; it is himself, or rather his hero, who has a series of visions, and to whom an angel unveils the invisible world, and reveals what is passing in heaven and what is to be on earth. All the Messianic books written by the Jews, without exception, from the Revelation of Daniel to that of John, are of the same character.

It is curious to observe this character in the imprecations of the Sybil, and still more so in the so-called Book of Enoch.¹ This book, quoted by Jude,² was certainly read by the rabbis of the first century, and commented upon as carefully as the Apocalypse of Daniel.

We shall not analyse it, because it has already been made the subject of very careful studies in French,³ and we have ourselves spoken at considerable length about it in our "*Histoire des idées religieuses en Palestine au premier siècle.*" It consists of a series of fantastic visions, in which the author lets his imagination carry him into all sorts of extravagances. Enoch travels through heaven and earth; he is in relation with all the heavenly spirits; he treats of the laws of nature as well as of the coming of the kingdom of God. If the writer chose Enoch as the hero of his epopeia, it was simply because

¹ Discovered in 1773 by Bruce, in Abyssinia, in two Ethiopian manuscripts, and edited by Laurence in 1820 (English translation), by Hoffmann (German translation) in 1833, by Gfrörer in 1840 (Latin translation), and lastly by Dillmann in 1853 (a German translation made from five Ethiopian MSS. with commentary). The Book of Enoch, with the exception of the interpolations, belongs to the second century before Christ.

² Jude 14, 15.

³ See M. Vernes' "*Histoire des idées messianiques*," ch. iii.

that patriarch had been caught up into heaven,¹ and it was natural to suppose that he would have a singular familiarity with that which was transpiring in the invisible world. The style of this work is extravagant to a degree. All the images are exaggerated. Everything is on a grander scale than nature. It accords fully with the general characteristics of the literary productions of the period.

The book of the Assumption of Moses is also quoted by Jude.² The lawgiver of the Hebrews relates the history of the people to Joshua. The most curious passage is that in which he alludes to the armed intervention of Varus, after the death of Herod the Great, and to the crucifixion of the two thousand insurgents.³ This happened at the very time of Christ's birth. The de-

¹ Ezra, Daniel, Enoch, Moses, and Elijah, were the favourite heroes of the olden time with these writers. Ezra, because he had restored the Jewish nationality and founded the synagogue; Daniel, because he was looked upon as the author of the Apocalypse, which bears his name, and this book foretold the destinies of Rome and of Jerusalem. Enoch, Moses, and Elijah, because they were supposed not to be dead. "God took Enoch" (Gen. v. 24). As to Moses, God Himself buried him, and "his sepulchre no man knoweth" (Deut. xxxiv. 6). Lastly, Elijah was carried up into heaven in a chariot of fire (2 Kings ii. 11). It was said that these three men were living in heaven—living in the body—and a Revelation of Ezra, a Revelation of Enoch, and an Assumption of Moses, were written. Was there also a Revelation or Assumption of Elijah, which has been lost? We do not know, but from day to day the Jews were looking for the prophet who was to be the herald of the Lord and to prepare His way.

² Jude 9. The date of this book is uncertain. It is sometimes supposed to be about 44, sometimes after the revolt of Barcocheba. We have only a broken fragment of it edited by Hilgenfeld, "Nov. Test. extra canonem," first part, and Fritzsche, "Libri Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphi selecti."

³ See Book I. ch. iii. : The Herods.

scriptions which follow, of the persecutions of the Jews, and the delineations of the Messianic era, are in the taste of the times ; that is to say they are bombastic, exaggerated, fantastic.

The Book of Jubilees, or "Little Genesis," or the "Revelation of Moses,"¹ belongs also to the same period. It was written during the life of Christ, or a very short time before His birth. It is not, properly speaking, apocalyptic. It approaches more nearly in its contents to Talmudic literature, for the author simply paraphrases the Book of Genesis. He does not speak himself however, but by an angel who addresses himself to Moses, and in this respect the book resembles the apocalypses. It takes, as its historical basis, a period of forty-nine years, composed of seven weeks of years. Every seventh year is the Sabbatic year, called the year of Jubilee ; hence the name of the book. The writer is very familiar with the celestial hierarchy, and we see, by his treatment of this subject, how large a place speculations on the angels and other intermediate beings occupied in the thoughts of the Jews in the time of Christ. He teaches that the angels had observed the law in heaven long before it was given to the Hebrews, for it was written upon heavenly tables. The patriarchs are thus supposed to have had secret books containing divine revelations.²

¹ Quoted by the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, and by the Byzantine writers of the seventh to the twelfth centuries. It was discovered in our time in Abyssinia in an Ethiopian MS., and was edited by Dillmann (1850-51), and translated into German in 1859 from the Ethiopian text. Fabricius had previously edited some fragments of it. Ceriani found the third part of this book in seventh-century Latin, in the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

² The author is unknown, was he an Essene? Yes, says one, for he speaks much of angels and secret books. No, says another,

The Targums are paraphrases of the Old Testament, such as were given in the synagogue every Sabbath day. It has now been proved that those which we possess, were not collected till the fourth or fifth century after Christ;¹ but some very similar existed in the first century. Those which have come down to us are a reproduction more or less exact of these. The Mishnah speaks of some Chaldee paraphrases,² and the writers of the New Testament sometimes quote the Old in the very words of the Targums.³ It is clear that these translations give us the results of the work of many generations. We have two Targums, that of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, and of Jonathan on the Prophets. The former is only a laboured and very literal version, the latter is a perfectly free rendering. Both are distinguished by the careful avoidance of the anthropomorphism of the Old Testament, the angel of the Lord being always made to speak instead of Jehovah Himself.⁴

The "Revelation of Ezra,"⁵ or Fourth Book of Esdras

for he says nothing of lustrations and baptisms, and he admits sacrifices of blood. Was he a Samaritan? No; for he speaks of Mount Zion, and does not even name Mount Gerizim. Was he an Alexandrine? No; for the book was certainly written in Palestine; the language of the original, which, beyond a doubt, was Hebrew, sufficiently proves this. Was he a Pharisee? No; for he does not hold the resurrection of the body (iii. 24). Was he a Sadducee? No; for he believes in angels. This book then must have been written by a man who belonged to no sect of his day, and who was very independent in his beliefs.

¹ See on this subject, Geiger, "*Jüdische Zeitschrift*," 1871, p. 86, and 1872, p. 199.

² "*Yadayim*," IV. 5.

³ See Eph. iv. 8. St. Paul is here quoting a Targum.

⁴ Or "His glory," His "Shekinah," or again His "word," His "Mēmra."

⁵ We do not speak of the Revelation of Baruch, because it is of much later date than the fall of Jerusalem.

is also a Jewish writing of the close of the first century or the commencement of the second. Some critics give it even a later date. This book is found in the Vulgate, and is, therefore, much better known than the works of which we have already spoken. The Jews gave the name of the Second Book of Esdras to the Book of Nehemiah. Their Third Book of Esdras was a poor compilation of Scripture passages, and the work of which we are about to speak naturally received the name of the Fourth Book of Esdras.¹

This also treats of the visions which this famous scribe is supposed to have had in the city of Babylon. From a literary point of view, this Revelation is superior to any of the others. The style is elevated, serious, and marked by a sobriety altogether unusual at this period. The writer has much imagination, but he is never fantastic. He sometimes expresses himself in parables, and several of these are charming in their brightness and simplicity. Written after the fall of the holy city, this book treats of the burning question which every believing Jew was then putting to himself: Is Israel then no longer the chosen people? The author does not lose hope, and proclaims, with unshaken confidence, the near advent of Messiah. He was mistaken, like all who went before him, and the final revolt of the Jews under Trajan and Adrian, was to issue in the annihilation of the last vestige of a distinct nationality which they still retained. But the author of the Fourth Book of Esdras would not have advised this uprising. He belonged to the moderate school, the adherents of which presently substituted for the hope of Messiah a devout observance of the law, saying: "The kingdom of God

¹ The best text is that of the "Messias Judæorum," of Hilgenfeld, and the "Pseud. pigraph.," of Fritzsche.

has come if you are faithful, for it is in your hearts; it is realised spiritually by every sincere follower of Moses."

The "Revelation of Ezra" is the last of the Apocalypses which deserves to be mentioned. Their work is done, the Rabbis henceforth devote themselves to purely Talmudic literature.

The various writings which we have thus passed in review, all dating from the same period, and all occupied with the one theme—the prediction of the future—show us that among the Jews of the first century there existed, side by side with the scribes, who only thought of the law, men of more independence of mind, who occupied themselves with the future, and wrote prophecies which they afterwards sheltered under the name of some hero of the past. It is probable that these works were written in retirement. The writer concealed himself while he sent forth his book. After its publication he still remained incognito, and in a few years (so credulous was the spirit of the age) the pseudepigraph passed for genuine, and its object was attained.

As to the writer, his conscience did not trouble him about the forgery. He had the clear consciousness of having rendered a service to his people, by reminding them of the destinies awaiting them, and he did not at all reproach himself, for he was satisfied he had only put into the mouth of his hero, truths essential to be told, and which he would gladly have uttered had he written prophecies. Possibly he even looked upon his artifice as a pious fraud. He was not thinking of himself, or seeking his own glory; he was thinking only of his nation and its glorious destinies, and of Jehovah, whose cause he was serving. He lost sight of himself altogether. He preached that which Enoch, Moses,

Solomon, Ezra, would assuredly have said, possibly had actually said. He resuscitated a sublime past ; he renewed the great prophetic traditions ; he was, in his way, a hero, continuing the work begun by the seers of ancient days.

CHAPTER XIV.

SCIENCE.

Arithmetic.—Natural History.—Astronomy.—Geography.—Medicine and the Doctors.—Diseases in General.—Demoniacs.—Leprosy.—The Woman with an Issue of Blood.—Superstition.—Spirits.—Dreams.

THE Jew of the time of Christ gave the name of science to the study of the law and the more or less philosophical speculations connected with it. The Christians who devoted themselves from the first century to the metaphysical contemplation of Divine things, gave to this study also the name of science (*γνώσις*). It is not our purpose, in the present chapter, to treat of science in this sense. We use the word in its modern acceptation, and we ask ourselves, what were the scientific acquirements of an educated man in Palestine at the time of Christ. Did he know arithmetic? Did he know anything of natural history? What were his ideas of astronomy?—of geography? Lastly, what did he know of medicine? The investigation of this question will lead us to speak of the practice of medicine in the time of Christ, and of the diseases, possessions, and superstitions of the age.

Of arithmetic we can say nothing ; it is barely alluded to in the Old Testament.¹

¹ Lev. xxv. 27-50

Natural history, or at least zoology, seems to have been cultivated to some extent; for the descriptions of animals and of their habits often occur in the sacred writings. The Book of Proverbs speaks of the ant;¹ the Book of Job describes the wild ass, the ostrich, the horse, the eagle, the hippopotamus and the crocodile.² The same book speaks of the papyrus, of metals and their formation, and of work in the mines.³ In Genesis we see an attempt at the classification of plants into herbs which grow spontaneously, plants bearing seed, and trees yielding fruit.⁴ The cetacea are distinguished from other aquatic animals;⁵ the terrestrial creatures are divided into wild and tame beasts. The Pentateuch is more explicit later on; it names ruminants, animals with cloven hoofs, and so on. These are very primitive attempts at classification. Did the Hebrews arrive by degrees at more scientific distinctions and more accurate knowledge? We do not know.

About the cosmic system, the Jews had broader notions, though scarcely more precise. They had a great idea of the vastness of the universe. "It would take five hundred years," we read in the tract, "Bera-coth," "to traverse the distance between the earth and the sky immediately overhead. The same interval separates one heaven from another, and again there is the same distance between the two extremities of the heaven traversed in its breadth."

We have said that the Jews regulated the length of the month by the duration of the revolution of the moon around the earth. On this point they made no calculations, but contented themselves with simple observation. As to the stars, they gave names to certain constella-

¹ Prov. vi. 6-8.² Job xxxix. 5-30.³ Job xxviii.⁴ Gen. i. 11.⁵ Gen. i. 21.

tions; Orion, the Great Bear, and others are spoken of in the Book of Job. It must be noted also that the word (*Rākīa'*)¹ in Genesis, which we translate firmament, properly signifies solid surface, and the Jews imagined the blue of the sky to be solid. When it rained, they thought the water passed through holes pierced in this surface. These openings are the "windows of heaven," or the "fountains of the deep."²

Did the children of Israel afterwards get beyond these simple and childish notions? We cannot tell. It is evident, at any rate; that the earth was to them as to the whole ancient world, the centre of the universe, and that all the stars revolved around that immovable centre.

The geography of the contemporaries of Christ is given with great exactness in the Talmuds, and by studying these we may get a very fair idea of the geographical notions of an educated Jew in the first century.

He looks upon the earth as a circular plane.³ God is seated above this plane, the circumference of which had been originally traced by Him on the abyss.⁴ The four cardinal points are called the ends of the heavens, the four sides or corners of the earth, or the four winds.⁵ In order to point to them, the Jew does not turn to the north as we do, but to the east. He looks towards the east; to his right is the south; to his left the north; and behind him the west. Jerusalem is in the centre of

¹ Gen. i. 6, "God made the firmament."

² See Gen. vii. 11; viii. 2.

³ Isa. xl. 22. Not as a globe, as translators have often wished to render it. "The circle of the earth," says the prophet.

⁴ Prov. viii. 26, 27.

⁵ Isa. xi. 12; Jer. xlix. 36; 1 Chron. ix. 24.

the round flat disc which forms the earth.¹ The surface of this plane is divided into two parts; the land of Israel, and that which is not the land of Israel. Its inhabitants are divided in the same way into Jews and Gentiles, those without and those within. These expressions constantly occur in the New Testament.² The pagans were called "the Gentiles," or "the nations of the world," and the word "world" (κόσμος) designated all that was not of Israel, all that did not form part of the chosen people and of the Holy Land. The world represented that which was profane. The word is frequently used in this sense by the writers in the New Testament, and in particular, by St. John.³ The land of Israel was in the centre of the disc, surrounded on all sides by the world. At the edge of the disc was the sea, the great sea upon which no one had yet ventured far. It encircled the round plane, and as it washed the shores of pagan countries, these were sometimes called "the region of the sea." Rabbi Solomon said: "All the outer region is called the region of the sea, with the exception of Babylon,"⁴ and Rabbi Nissim says: "It is imperative to call all that is outside the land of Israel, the region of the sea."⁵

What idea had the Jew of the size of the disc of the earth? It is impossible to say. He could not have had more than a vague conception of the extent of the Roman Empire, and probably supposed that beyond its frontiers lay an uninhabited desert, then the sea, and beyond that there was nothing.

¹ Ezek. v. 5.

² 1 Cor. v. 13; 1 Tim. iii. 7.

³ See Luke xii. 30; John iii. 16, 17; 1 John ii., etc.

⁴ "Gittin," ch. I.

⁵ Jerus., "Cilaïm," fol. 32, 1; Babyl., "Baba Bathra," fol. 74, 2.

Palestine itself is watered, we are told, by seven seas and four rivers. 1. The Great Sea (the Mediterranean); 2. The Sea of Tiberias; 3. The Sea of Samco (a little lake through which the Jordan passes); 4. The Salt Sea or Sea of Sodom (the Dead Sea); 5. The Sea of Chūlta or Sea of 'Acco (Acre); 6. The Sea of Shelyath; 7. The Sea of Aspamya.¹ Geographers differ about the site of the fifth sea. Lightfoot and Bochart identified this sea of Chulta with a little lake (Lake Sirbonis) mentioned by Diodorus Siculus. Bochart had some idea also of the Red Sea.² It is the more difficult to decide this question because the number seven is a symbolic number, and in order to obtain it, the Talmuds may have counted the Lake Samco twice over, for it was also called Huleh, a name somewhat resembling Chulta. The Sea of Shelyath is probably Lake Phiala, and the Sea of Aspamya is nothing else than Lake Takeh near Aspamya, and is not in Palestine at all. This shows how artificial is the classification in the Talmuds. There were in fact only four seas in the Holy Land; the Mediterranean, the Sea of Tiberias, the Sea of Samco, and the Dead Sea.³

The four rivers are the Jordan, the Yarmūc, the Kirmion, and the Pigah. We know the Jordan. The Yarmūc is one of its tributaries, a large river, the mouth of which is above the Lake of Tiberias. There is difference of opinion about the Kirmion. It must be

¹ Neubauer, in his "*Géographie*," p. 24, gives the seven seas as follows: 1. Sea of Tiberias; 2. Sea of Sodom; 3. Sea of Chīlath; 4. Sea of Chiltā; 5. Sea of Sibeī; 6. Sea of Aspamya; 7. The Great Sea.

² Bochart, "*Geographia Sacra*."

³ Jerus., "*Shekalim*," IV. 2; "*Shabbath*," XIV. 13.

either the Kishon,¹ or another river near Damascus now called El-Barada. The Pigah we do not know.

It is evident that the geography of the Jews was like that of other ancient nations.² It had no surer basis than the direct testimony of the senses and childish observation. It is probable that to the few details which we have gathered here and there, might be added more than one fantastic theory as to the phenomena of nature; but the Talmuds are silent on these secondary points. Did the Jews suppose the blue of the sky to be the reflection of a vast mountain, blue and invisible, as some ancient nations did? Possibly. We know that they attributed all the phenomena which they did not understand, to the action of invisible spirits. We shall have occasion to observe this in treating of the superstitions of the first century; but we must first say something of the knowledge and practice of medicine among the Jews at this period.

We shall be very brief on this subject. Every one at this time meddled with medicine, yet no one understood its very first principles. Scientific medicine had been known in Greece for five hundred years, but it had been confined to that country. The persistent ignorance of the Jews on the subject of medicine is accounted for by their belief that sickness was the

¹ Judg. v. 21.

² We cannot take seriously the geography of the Book of Enoch. The writer is under the influence of Greek mythology. Moreover, he mixes up imagination and reality, and so completely confounds his individual fancies with the geographical notions of his contemporaries, that it is impossible to separate them. He also is fascinated with the number seven, and speaks of seven great rivers which water the earth. The earth itself is composed of seven islands, that have arisen out of the heart of the sea. He thinks the sun sets each evening in an ocean of fire in which are the dead.

punishment of sins committed either by the sufferer himself or by his relations;¹ hence it was almost always attributed to the action of evil spirits.² The only cure possible, therefore, was the expulsion of the evil spirit (or spirits, for there might be many), and the whole science of medicine consisted in discovering the best method of exorcising the demon. It was not the most educated man who was competent to this work of benevolence, but the most religious. The more pious a man was, the more fit was he to heal the sick, that is to cast out the evil spirits. Every one therefore practised this art of healing as best he could for himself and for those who belonged to him. The rabbis, scribes and doctors of the law undertook the casting out demons, and some of them were considered very skilful in the art. The healing art was simply exorcism.

All sorts of methods of exorcism were adopted. The most common was incantation.³

The rabbi pronounced a magic formula. Sometimes he poured oil on the head of the sick. "Let him who pronounces the incantation first pour oil on the head of the sick man, and then utter the words."⁴ The Talmuds speak of works of healing performed by Christians in the name of Jesus, whom they call Jesus the Son of Pandira. "Coming near to the sick man, they pronounced a formula of healing in the name of Jesus the Son of Pandira, and the man was healed." The

¹ John v. 14 ; ix. 2, 34.

² Matt. ix. 32, 33 ; xii. 22 ; Luke xiii. 11, 16.

³ "Shabbath," 3. We have the formula of incantation against mania, Babyl., "Yoma," fol. 84, 1 ; and that against the demon of blindness, used when a blind man was to be cured "Abodah Zarah," fol. 12, 2.

⁴ "Sanh.," ch. X. hal. 1.

tract "Shabbath," relates that Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Damah, was bitten by a serpent. James of Capernaum¹ came and would have healed him in the name of Jesus, but Ismail would not suffer him.² Sometimes very elaborate methods were used. Josephus tells us that King Solomon had composed a book of formulas for casting out demons, the "Sefer Rephu'oth" (Book of Recipes),³ and he says that one of the best remedies is a certain sacred root called *Baaras*. It is of the colour of fire, and is very difficult to procure, but any one possessing it can heal the sick by simple contact. Josephus himself witnessed such a cure wrought in the presence of Vespasian. A Jew named Eleazar released several possessed persons by touching them with a ring which contained some of the precious root recommended by Solomon, and solemnly pronouncing the proper formula. The demons came out through the nostrils of the possessed persons, who were healed immediately. Eleazar commanded the demons, as they went out of the man, to overturn a cup or basin full of water which he had set there, in order to convince the spectators that they were really gone out; this they did immediately.⁴

When the sick man was not possessed, the methods of cure were more serious. The leper, for example, was never looked upon as possessed. The unhappy being who suffered from this malady was obliged to submit to certain rigorous rules laid down by Moses. He was strictly shut up, like one plague-stricken, and if

¹ This must certainly mean James, the Lord's brother, and head of the Church in Jerusalem.

² Jerus., "Shabbath, ch. XIV. Schwab's transl., p. 156.

³ Jos. "Ant. Jud.," VIII. 2, § 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*

he ventured beyond the assigned limits, he received forty stripes save one with the bastinado.

The Temple was closed against him, but not the synagogue. "If a leper comes into the synagogue he has to sit in a place apart, raised ten spans from the floor, and four cubits broad. He comes in first and goes out last."¹ It is found now that such precautions were unnecessary; the disease known as leprosy is not contagious. It is generally inherited. Did it manifest itself under a contagious form among the Jews in Palestine? Possibly, but there was certainly much ignorance and prejudice in the disgust and horror inspired by a leper.

Leprosy is becoming more and more rare. Cases are still met with in Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, and also in Norway. It is fostered by poverty, bad food and uncleanness. Not only is it curable, but it may disappear of itself without any treatment. It is a superficial affection of the skin, not painful and not materially affecting the general health. Among the Jews the first stage of recovery was called the "purification of the leper." The scales which had appeared on the skin, forming white or greyish patches, became loose and fell off. The leper was then said to be "purified" or "cleansed." His cure was not yet certain, but the danger of contagion was supposed to have passed away, and he returned to common life. His first duty was to offer three sacrifices;² one for atonement, one as a sin offering, the third as a burnt offering. The poor offered turtle-doves, the rich, lambs. These ceremonies were observed in the first century in the following manner: The leper, standing by the animal, laid his two hands upon it, and then it was slain. Two priests received the

¹ "Nega'im," ch. XIII. hal. 12.

² Matt. viii. 4 Lev. xiv. 2 and foll.

blood, the one in a vessel, the other in his hand. He who had received the blood in his hand went to the leper in what was called the "leper's chamber."¹ The leper first presented his head, and the priest touched the lobe of his right ear with the blood. He stretched out his hand and the priest touched the thumb with blood. Then the right great toe was touched in the same way. The other priest then came and touched with oil the same parts of the body. This ceremony over, the healed man had performed all his religious duties. It is clear that religion was closely connected with medicine, even when the sufferer was not a demoniac.

Some doctors, however, tried to employ real remedies. The Essenes, for example, were acquainted with some medicinal herbs, and knew their properties. They were the possessors of the famous Book of Incantations said to be by King Solomon. Perhaps it contained some recipes which may have been of use. We have spoken of oil; its softening, soothing properties, so highly esteemed to-day, seem to have been appreciated even then. It was often mixed with wine, and this remedy is still very efficacious in certain cases. The sick man was anointed with oil.² These unctions may, however, have been credited with some magic virtue.

Wine and oil might be mixed on the Sabbath and on feast days. Rabbi Meir at least permitted it.³ "If any one is ill on the Day of Atonement or on public fast days, the sufferer may be anointed with oil."⁴

¹ In the corner of the Court of the Women which looked west. See the description of the Temple, Book II. ch. xi. xii.

² Mark vi. 13; Jas. v. 14; Luke x. 34.

³ Jerus., "Beracoth," fol. 3. He would not, however, mix it himself on the Sabbath day.

⁴ Babyl., "Yoma," fol. 77, 2.

Nor is this all. Occasionally the Talmuds speak of prescriptions for other complaints. The cedar cone was used in medicine.¹ Ophthalmia was common. The traveller is struck now with the number of blind people in the East. Thus the Bible speaks of eye salve.² It was a favourite remedy to wash the eyes with saliva and wine. This gave much relief, but it was forbidden to use it on the Sabbath day.³ "Put no saliva that day on the eyelids."

Before quitting this subject, we must refer to a very curious passage in the Talmud of Babylon,⁴ as illustrating the story given in the Gospel of the healing of a woman who had had an issue of blood twelve years.⁵ She "had suffered much of many physicians," says the text. We know who these physicians were. They were the rabbis. And we know also what remedies they had prescribed for this poor woman. Rabbi Yochanan says: "Take a denarius weight of gum of Alexandria, a denarius weight of alum, a denarius weight of garden saffron, pound all together, and give it to the woman in some wine. If this remedy does not succeed, take three times three logs of Persian onions, boil them in the wine, and give this to the woman to drink, saying to her: 'Be free from thy sickness.' If this does not succeed, take her to a place where two roads meet, put in her hands a cup of wine, and let some one suddenly coming up behind, startle her, saying to her: 'Be free from thy sickness.' If still nothing answers, take a handful of saffron and a handful of *fœnum græcum*, boil them in some wine, and

¹ Babyl., "Gittin," fol. 69, 1.

² Rev. iii. 18. See on blindness, Deut. xxvii. 18; Luke iv. 18; Ps. clvi. 8.

³ Maimon., "Shabbath," ch. xxi.

⁴ Babyl., "Shabbath," fol. 110.

⁵ Mark v. 26.

give it her to drink, saying: 'Be free from thy sickness.'" The Talmud goes on thus, proposing a dozen other means to be used, among them the following: "Dig seven pits, and burn in them some vine branches not yet four years old. Then let the woman, carrying a cup of wine in her hand, come up to each pit in succession, and sit down by the side of it, and each time let the words be repeated: 'Be free from thy sickness.'"

Clearly the proceedings of sorcerers and sorceresses are much akin in all ages. Such passages as these show to what a length the Jews of the first century carried their credulity.

We know also how easy it was to turn these magic arts to account. Simon the sorcerer must have been famous in the lifetime of Christ.¹ There was a rage for miracles, and all men were looking for them. The Pharisees constantly asked Christ to work miracles,² and St. Paul afterwards described his nation in one short sentence: "*The Jews require a sign.*"³ Every one was fully persuaded that many miracles were wrought, and that they were not always the work of God, but might be demoniacal. Possession was a sort of miracle. Evil spirits were in the air, beginning with the chief of all, "the prince of the powers of the air."⁴ Hence cases of madness, hysteria, hallucination, were frequent among the Jews in the first century. If they were wrong in calling almost every sort of disease "possession," it was very natural that they should give the name of possessed persons or demoniacs to the sufferers from those strange nervous affections which still baffle science.

¹ Acts viii. 11 seems to prove this.

² Matt. xvi. 1; xii. 39; Mark viii. 11 and foll.; Luke xi. 16, 29, etc.

³ I Cor. i. 22.

⁴ Eph. ii. 2.

We know now what these so-called possessions were, and any one who has witnessed one of the crises of mania, can easily understand how among the Jews and in the middle ages people believed in the influence of demons.¹ These affections were all the more frequent in the time of Christ on account of the state of high-strung religious and political excitement in which the Jewish people were living.²

We have said that the rabbis took on themselves the healing of diseases. They were all assumed to be healers and workers of miracles.³ "It was needful," says Maimonides,⁴ "that the elder who was elected a member of the Sanhedrim, should be learned in the arts of the astrologers, prestidigitators, and diviners, and should have a knowledge of witchcraft. The Talmuds tell us of several miracles wrought by the rabbis.⁵ The most renowned for their skill were Abba Chikiyah, Chami, Rabbi Chanina ben Dosa, and others that might be named.⁶

The following is one of these narratives which we have

¹ See *Revue des deux mondes*, Nos. Jan. and Feb. 1880, Art. by Dr. Richet.

² Of all the miracles, the most remarkable, and that which every one was most anxious to see, was a resurrection from the dead. The Pharisees desired this as a confirmation of one of their favourite doctrines. If it could be proved that a dead man had been raised, what a triumph for them, and what a demonstration of the superiority of their teaching over that of the Sadducees!

³ Babyl., "Sanhed.," fol. 101, 1. We may add the details given in the Acts about Simon, ch. viii.; Elymas the sorcerer, ch. xiii.; and the sons of Sceva.

⁴ "Sanhed.," ch. II.

⁵ Babyl., "Ta'anith," fol. 24.

⁶ "Yuchasin," fol. 20, 1; *ibid.*, fol. 56, 2; Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 33 and 34.

chosen on account of its resemblance to one of the miracles narrated in the Gospel.¹ "When the son of Rabbi Gamaliel fell ill, his father sent two scribes to Rabbi Chanina ben Dosa, that he should implore the divine benediction. On their arrival, the Rabbi went up into the upper chamber of the house and gave himself to prayer. On coming down, he said: 'Go; the fever has left him.' 'Art thou a prophet,' they asked him, 'that thou knowest this?' 'No,' he replied; 'but this is the received tradition: If I am able to pray with ease, I know my prayer is granted; otherwise it is not granted.' They then noted down in writing the exact hour, and on their return to Rabbi Gamaliel they told him of it. 'That,' said he, 'is the exact moment, neither sooner nor later, when the fever left him, and my son wished to have something given him to drink.'"²

It may fairly be asked how a natural fact was to be distinguished from a supernatural. In these early days when the laws of nature were all unknown, the world must have seemed full of miracle. The rain, the storm, the wind, were supernatural facts produced by the spirit of the rain, the spirit of the storm, the spirit of the wind.³ A woman bowed by age or sickness had "a spirit of infirmity."⁴ There were theological distinctions made between these spirits, and they were divided into various orders;⁵ thus *evil* spirits were not the same as *unclean* spirits. Sickesses were wrought by demons; but there were pure and impure sufferers. A woman bowed with age was not unclean. The spirit

¹ Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 34 b.

² See John iv. 47 and foll.

³ The Book of Enoch names all these spirits. A natural cure might thus pass for a miracle.

⁴ Luke xiii. 11.

⁵ "Bemidbar rabbah," fol. 157, 2.

which, entering into a man, upset his reason and made him beside himself, was simply an "evil" spirit;¹ but the spirit which drove the man to dwell among the tombs was an "*unclean* spirit."² The spirit of the Pythion was "unclean."³

There were also spirits which were neither angels nor demons, but simply "souls which had been created, the bodies for which were not yet created,⁴ or the bodies belonging to which were dead, the souls reappearing upon earth in a visible but impalpable form. It was thus the apostles thought they saw the spirit of Jesus after His death. "They supposed that they beheld a spirit," says the text;⁵ that is to say, they did not believe that He was risen, and thought they only saw His spectre, His immortal soul, His "spirit." When the Pharisees said of St. Paul,⁶ "A spirit hath spoken to him or an angel," they meant by the word "spirit" either a soul the body of which had never yet existed, or an apparition of one of the dead prophets or saints. Such apparitions were often seen during sleep, and the Jews considered them to be as real as any others. No ancient people attached more importance than they did to visions and dreams. They fasted in order to secure pleasant dreams.⁷ "If thou goest to bed joyous, thou shalt have good dreams."⁸ There were at Jerusalem twenty-four interpreters of dreams. "I asked them the explanation of my dreams," says an old man in one of

¹ "Erubin," fol. 42, 2.

² "Glos. in Sanhed.," fol. 65, 2.

³ Acts xvi. 16.

⁴ "Bereshith Rabbah," fol. 34, 2.

⁵ Luke xxiv. 37.

⁶ Acts xxiii. 9.

⁷ Babyl., "Shabbath," fol. 11, 1. This fasting was spoken of as "fasting for a dream." See Book II. ch. ix.

⁸ "Shabbath," fol. 30, 2.

the Talmuds,¹ "and though they gave me different explanations, all came true."

People believed in charms and wore them round their necks; but they might only be used on the Sabbath if the "doctor had given permission."²

In order to avoid an unpleasant encounter with the spirits, a psalm was recited. The third and the ninety-first Psalms were particularly efficacious in such cases.³

Lastly, certain numbers had a secret virtue and a sacred character. Those most esteemed were three, seven, ten, especially the two former. Thus superstition among the Jews in the first century was at its height, embracing belief in sacred numbers, in amulets, apparitions, dreams, visions, and wild speculations about ghosts, spirits, magic, sorcery and necromancy. The Israelite of that troubled period lived in an imaginary world which he peopled according to his fancy, and he was ready to believe the greatest absurdities. He was persuaded beforehand of their reality, and when necessary he did not scruple to invent the prodigious. There are moments in the life of nations and of individuals when the wildest extravagances of the supernatural are accepted as more natural and more authentic than the most ordinary facts. The Judaism of the first century was passing through such a phase.

¹ Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 55, 2.

² "Shabbath," VI. 2.

³ Jerus., "Shabbath," fol. 8, 2.

BOOK II.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHARISEES AND SADDUCEES UNDER THE MACCABEES AND UNDER HEROD THE GREAT.

The Chasidim.—Origin of Pharisaism and Sadducceeism.—Struggles for Supremacy under the Asmonean Kings.—Comparison of the Two Schools.—Their Defects and Virtues.—The Sadducees under Herod the Great.—Influence of the Pharisees.—Divisions among Them.—The Two Parties in the Lifetime of Christ.—Their Attitude towards Christianity in its Commencement.—The Seven Schools of Pharisees.

IN this second book we shall consider the religious life of the Jews in Palestine during the first century, chiefly as represented in the two great parties—the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

They have often been referred to already in the course of this work, and in the New Testament we find Jesus constantly confronted with them. Josephus describes them as forming sects among the Jews of his time. It is necessary, in order to understand the position they took in relation to Christ, that we should inquire into their origin and study their previous history. They had a long past before the time of Christ, and this we shall now briefly review.

When Ezra and Nehemiah restored the Jewish nationality, they met with almost unanimous support. All their reforms were adopted and carried out, and the early days of the restoration were marked by a great

revival of faith and of religious life. All the children of Israel, almost without exception, submitted to the yoke of the law, and bore it with the courage of sincere conviction. Those who, after the death of the great reformers, carried on their work and established it, were called *Chasidim* (the pious, the devout). They were universally loved and respected, and became very powerful.

The conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great introduced, however, a new element into Judaism. Many inhabitants of Palestine came to know and to appreciate Hellenism. Greek civilisation was carried as far as Jerusalem, and came into contact with the religion and practice of the Jews. Those who favoured this contact were called Hellenist Jews, and were ill regarded by the Chasidim, who looked upon any relations with strangers as unfaithfulness to the law; and when Antiochus Epiphanes wished to enforce the adoption of Greek manners and customs, they rebelled. A priest named Mattathias, the father of Judas Maccabeus, led this heroic rising, known in history by his son's name.

The insurrection, which was at first simply a partisan warfare and seemed likely to be soon suppressed, became, on the contrary, victorious, owing partly to the firmness of its leaders, the Chasidim, but mainly to the adhesion of almost the whole nation, which was glad to fight for country, independence, and God. A few Hellenist Jews, however, secretly disapproved of the insurrection. Their religious and patriotic faith had grown feeble under the Greek rule; and without renouncing any of their beliefs, they could not see why foreigners should be held in such detestation. They had no repugnance to learning and speaking the language of the foreigners, or to becoming acquainted with their ideas. These Hellenist Jews, more tolerant than the Chasidim, but also more indifferent and

lax in their thoughts and feelings, were called *Çadūkim* (Sadducees), that is to say, the Just. Why, it is difficult to say. It seems natural to suppose that as their opponents called themselves the Pious, they wished to adopt some name equally imposing in the eyes of the people, and hence chose the appellation of the *Just*.¹ But as they never use it themselves, and thus seem to reject it, it is possible that it was given them by the Chasidim, and was only an ironical *soubriquet*, meaning those who called themselves just.² The Sadducees wished, in fact (in opposition to the ardour of the Chasidim, which seemed to them excessive) to represent the party of moderation, of *sang froid*, of equity, to be among those who took the standpoint of reason and moderation.³ This name, *Çadūkim*, may have been adopted by them, because one Zadok (*Çadok*) had been high priest of Solomon's Temple (either the first Temple or only the fourth),⁴ and his family had been spoken of in the time of Hezekiah as the *Çadūkim* (sons of *Çadok*).⁵ The Sadducees may have wished to continue the traditions of this family.

There was also another Zadok, a disciple of Antigonus of Socho, whom they were supposed to have

¹ This etymology, however, involves a serious grammatical difficulty. See Montet, "Essai sur l'origine des partis Pharisien et Sadducéen," p. 56.

² This appears to us the most probable explanation. The two parties called each other ironically Pharisees and Sadducees. In the Talmuds, the name Sadducee is always more or less turned into ridicule. So also often with the word Pharisee; for example, when the Talmudists describe the seven sorts of Pharisees. We need not add that in the Gospels both Pharisees and Sadducees are always spoken of with reprehension.

³ Epiphanes, "Hæres," I, § 14.

⁴ 1 Chron. vi. 10-12.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxi. 10; Ezek. xliv. 15.

called their leader.¹ Whatever their origin, this rising party claimed a certain traditional authority. It was soon discovered, however, that there were no Sadducees when Ezra restored the Jewish nationality, and that they had only come from Babylon after the new order of things had been well established. But they were rich, and they pretended to be the true conservators of the past. Moreover, they made no attempt to frustrate the reforms introduced by Ezra. On the contrary, in everything relating to the Temple and its ceremonies, to the Mosaic sacrifices and the keeping of the law, they were strictly religious. Only they thought the Chasidim fanatical. The institution of the synagogue seemed to them useless and burdensome. It was not in the Torah. "Let us keep the law," they said, "keep it in its entirety, but let us not add anything under pretext of enlarging its application." Later on, they also had their traditions, but at first they had none, and they advocated a strict return to the past, denouncing innovations with all the authority derived from their social position, their great name, and their wealth.

The Chasidim looked with marked disfavour on this growing party. They threw themselves heartily into the national struggle; and when the triumph of the Maccabees was complete and the foreigner was finally expelled, they set themselves to diminish the widening influence of the Sadducees. One section of them, however, shrank back from this task. Not feeling themselves called to enter into controversies and political strifes, and desiring to be undisturbed in their life of mystical contemplation, they separated from their brethren and

¹ Whatever the origin of the word "Sadducee," it ought to be written with one *d*. Neither Çadkiyah nor Çadok take the *dagesh*, and Josephus is wrong in writing Σαδδουκαῖος.

formed a new sect—the Essenes. Of these we shall speak in a separate chapter. The rest of the Pharisees, determined to fight, resolutely prepared for conflict. They then lost their name of Chasidim, and from the time when the Essenes separated from them, and they had no longer to do battle with the foreigner, but only with the Çadūkim, they were called *Perūshim*¹ (Pharisees), a word which signifies separated. It applied to them admirably, for they were separate from the foreigner, separate from the Sadducees, separate from the Essenes, in short, from all that was not of themselves. This name, the *Separated*, had therefore various applications, but it implied primarily hatred of Hellenism. We have already quoted the saying, “He who teaches his son Greek is accursed like him who keeps pigs.” This hatred of everything Greek was carried so far that the Septuagint version was regarded as an obnoxious thing. The date of it was marked as a day “as grievous for the Hebrews as that on which they worshipped the golden calf.”²

Subsequently the Pharisees fostered not only hatred to the Greeks, but to the Romans; in a word, to all that was not Jewish.³

The Pharisees aspired to be the representatives of the entire nation, and to a large extent they succeeded. We shall presently see how their school spread and prevailed, while the Sadducees dwindled and were finally

¹ “Sotah,” III. 4; “Yadayim,” IV. 6–8; in Aramaic, “Perîshîn.”

² Mishnah, “Sopherim,” I, 7.

³ This will not prevent their compassing sea and land to make one proselyte, and for this purpose they will necessarily have to use the Greek language and the Septuagint version. The apostles also used it, and often quote the Old Testament from that version.

relegated wholly to the Temple. Palestine became permeated throughout with the ideas and customs of the Pharisees.

It was so in the time of Christ ; and with His preaching set in the reaction against Pharisaism, a reaction provoked by the very excesses of the party. But before this, the Pharisees and Sadducees had sustained a long political struggle with alternations of success and failure, sometimes the one party and sometimes the other gaining the ascendancy.

It was under the reign of Hyrcanus that the desperate struggle began of the new spirit against the old, the liberals against the conservatives. Strange to say, the liberals were those who would not ally themselves with the foreigners ; the conservatives, on the contrary, were the men of breadth and tolerance. It is important to explain this anomaly and to characterise the two parties by drawing a parallel between them.

The Sadducee was a statesman, a diplomatist, a shrewd calculator. He always acted from motives of self-interest, and was not lacking in ability. The Pharisee was a man of one idea. His patriotism was ardent, his sincerity, at any rate at one time, irreproachable. His absolute belief, and the absence of anything like a calculating spirit, made him utterly disinterested. To the Sadducee the law and the Temple were relics of a bygone age, that had to be maintained for the good of the people. He kept up certain observances for the sake of example, but was careful not to overstep the bounds of the strictly necessary. Levitical purity seemed to him an ideal difficult of attainment, for he was a man of the world, accustomed to luxury and pleasure, a conservative alike by temperament and by position. The Pharisee was a liberal, and a reformer.

He worked steadily on with indomitable perseverance, to attain his ends, making no compromises. He was the friend of progress, if progress meant the triumph of Judaism, but he looked upon alliance with the foreigner as a backward step and an abomination. Subsequently when the Pharisees became the rulers, they divided into Right and Left. The Right pressed all the ideas of the party to their extreme issues. It became intolerant, bigoted, hypocritical, and had the defects common to all devotees, namely inordinate self-esteem, with a contempt for all who held different views. The Left became the political party of fierce fanatics, who, in the year 70, perished beneath the smoking ruins of the Temple. The Sadducee was to the end, and ever increasingly, the practical Epicurean, the man of religion without piety, ready to make all the concessions the foreigners might demand, if only he might be left undisturbed. Fascinated by the elegance of the Greeks, and by their good manners, he adopted with the utmost complaisance their gymnasiums, their games, their theatres, and even held it to be good form to imitate their corrupt practices.

It is evident that in the parallel we have drawn between these two great religious parties among the Jews of this period, the advantage is largely on the side of the Pharisees. We must not, however, fail to recognise what elements of good there may have been among the Sadducees. It is certain that they often gave proof, at any rate in this early period of their history, of great practical intelligence. Accustomed to intrigue, shrewd and subtle, they did not always start from an inflexible *à priori* like the Pharisees. They had the spirit of governing, and made excellent generals and consummate diplomatists. They knew how to make the concessions necessitated by changes in the

times and in the condition of things, and whenever such concessions involved no surrender of principle, it was wiser to grant than to refuse them. We have a striking instance of this early in Jewish history. When Judas Maccabeus was victorious, he wanted to enter into an alliance with the Romans. There was much wisdom in the scheme, and the Sadducees had perception enough to encourage it. The first Book of the Maccabees¹ sets forth most judicious reasons in support of it, and there can be no doubt they were drawn up by the Sadducees. The Pharisees being jealous, separated themselves at this time from Judas, accusing him of unfaithfulness, and their maxim *all or nothing* made them commit a terrible blunder on this occasion, as on many others. They would never have said under the Maccabees, "Help thyself and heaven will help thee." With their passionate and half fatalistic faith, their blind confidence in the intervention of Providence, their conviction that the help of the Lord is assured, they committed grievous errors. They had for ever on their lips, such passages as these: "The Lord shall fight for you and ye shall hold your peace."² "It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man;"³ or again: "Behold the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear Him, upon them that hope in His mercy."⁴ Sublime words, and yet, taken in an isolated sense, leading to fatalism. The Pharisees did indeed know how to rise in rebellion. This they sufficiently proved. But their blind faith, which was their strength in battle, was a hindrance to anything like a calm exercise of judgment. Indomitable in action, they were

¹ 1 Macc. viii. See also the text of the league in "Ant. Jud.," XII. 10, § 6.

² Exod. xiv. 14.

³ Ps. xviii. 8.

⁴ Ps. xxxiii. 18.

often wavering when a decision had to be taken, and were prone to be guided by a zeal not according to reason.

We have spoken of the Sadducee as a conservative. In reality he was much less so than the Pharisee. He was indeed averse to any change being made in the law, while the Pharisee enlarged and supplemented it; but the Sadducee made a compact with the foreigner, while the Pharisee—stern, narrow, bigoted, always antagonistic to Greek ideas—remained true to the traditions of his nation. To stamp out idolatry, and prevent the people from falling under the influence of strange religions and modes of worship, had been the great concern of Moses and the prophets. Ezra and Nehemiah had made this the one aim of their life; and the Pharisees, reviving these old ideas, rapidly became very popular. They founded schools, and taught the common people, while their rivals, the Sadducees, sought their allies among the upper classes, despised the poor, and only cared to make their influence felt by the monarch and the priestly caste.

The history of the Asmonean dynasty is primarily the history of the struggle between these two parties, the Pharisees and the Sadducees. It has been often written,¹ and we do not intend to repeat it here. We shall only briefly glance at it.

The Pharisees, who had led the Maccabean insurrection, were at first raised to power by it. But after the death of Judas Maccabeus, the Sadducees, the partisans of the foreigner, again prevailed. John Hyrcanus, at first indifferent to either, came in the end to side with the Sadducees in the political, religious and social conflict with the Pharisees upon which they had entered.

¹ See in particular, "The Pharisees," by Cohen.

His successor, Aristobulus, carried on these traditions, and restored the monarchy, which greatly irritated the Pharisees, whose tendencies were republican. The Sadducean ideas seemed likely to prevail altogether, but Aristobulus died and left the power to his wife Alexandra (also called Salome). She was much attached to the party of the Pharisees, and lent it all the support of her influence. The queen's brother, Simeon ben Shattach, took the leadership of the party of the Pharisees, and the Sadducees were driven out of the Sanhedrim. But Alexandra had married her brother-in-law, Alexander Janneus, and he was still a secret partisan of the Sadducees. One day, in a public ceremony, he was imprudent enough openly to violate the customs of the Pharisees. The indignant people rose in rebellion, but met with a terrible retribution, for eight hundred Pharisees were crucified, and their wives and children put to death. For six years Alexander Janneus tried to crush the party of the Pharisees, but without success; and when his wife was left a widow a second time, she again raised them to power. Simeon ben Shattach resumed his influence, and the Pharisees indulged in sanguinary reprisals upon the Sadducees. On the death of Alexandra civil war broke out. Aristobulus, son of the queen, put himself at the head of the Sadducees, and was victorious. The conflict went on, however, till the Asmonean dynasty came to an end.

With the accession of Herod the Great, the armed warfare ceased, and a new phase began in the history of the Pharisees and Sadducees. In fact, Herod enforced peace with an iron hand, and the two hostile parties dared no longer engage in civil war. The political power had been wrested from both of them. Some Sadducees, meaner than the rest, tried indeed to secure

to themselves the good graces of the king, and under the name of Herodians¹ presented the melancholy spectacle of Jews sufficiently degraded to flatter the lieutenant of the Cæsars—the man whom the people called “the Idumean slave.” But they stood alone; and it must be said to the honour of the Sadducees generally, that, having lost the battle, they bravely accepted their defeat, and confined themselves to the Temple, where they remained. They kept their influence over the priestly order, but the guidance of the religious life of the nation passed into the hands of the Pharisees.

These always treated the dynasty of the Herods with haughty defiance. They held their indomitable faith in the coming deliverance, and clung with unshaken attachment to the liberty they had lost. To the number of six thousand, they refused to take the oath of fidelity to the Emperor.² Thus they surrendered none of their political convictions; and, disappointed in the fond hope of seeing them immediately triumphant under the Maccabees, they learned to wait.

There were various schools among them, and they soon formed themselves into distinct groups. Till now the Pharisee had been the believing Jew, convinced that he possessed the true revelation of God, that his nation

¹ The Herodians are three times mentioned in the Gospels (Matt. xxii. 16; Mark iii. 6, and xii. 13). Josephus does not allude to them. They were probably the same as the Boëthusim, the descendants of Boëthus, grandfather of Mariamne Maccabeus, third wife of Herod and were, therefore, members of his family. They were Sadducees by their origin, since Boëthus was a Sadducee. But it is probable that the majority of the Sadducees repudiated their anti-patriotic servility. The Herodians seem to have combined with some of the Pharisees to ensnare Jesus.

² “Ant. Jud.,” XVII. 2, § 4.

was the first of all nations, and carrying out his political views as a part of his religion. Now some abandoned the militant attitude, and, confining themselves to their schools, occupied themselves wholly in controversies with the Sadducees. Subsequently, when the Sadducees, who were always more indifferent, abandoned even these controversies, the Pharisees and doctors of the law, having no one else to dispute with, got into disputations among themselves, and formed two schools, the Right and the Left, which were perpetually at issue with each other. The Left gave the first place to politics, concerning themselves comparatively little about religion, and some of them directly incited the people to revolt. These were known as the Zealots. Judas of Galilee was one of them,¹ and was only distinguished from the rest of the party by his fierce fanaticism.² He rose in insurrection with one Zadok, but the revolt was premature, and was suppressed. Some public preachers also distinguished themselves among the Pharisees. Judas, son of Saripheus, and Mattathias, son of Margaloth, were two very popular leaders. They urged on the people to tear down the Roman eagle, of solid gold and of great value, which had been placed by Herod the Great over the gate of the Temple. It was actually thrown down and cut in pieces with axes,³ and

¹ Acts v. 37.

² Josephus thus expresses himself in relation to the adherents of Judas of Galilee: "These men agree in all other things with the Pharisaic notions; but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. They also do not value dying any kinds of death, nor indeed do they heed the deaths of their relations and friends, nor can any such fear make them call any man lord."—"Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 1, § 6. See also in this volume, Book I. ch. iii.: On Judas of Galilee.

³ "Ant. Jud.," XVII. 6, § 3.

forty Pharisees were burned to death for the deed. Governments which are half liberal, half arbitrary, have the effect of lulling nations to sleep. The rule of Herod had a far different result. He kept the Jews in a perpetual ferment and frenzy. He was a persecutor, and Josephus is unjust in calling the rebels brigands. He means by this insult to flatter the Romans, for whom he is writing. These so-called brigands were only fervent patriots. There were indeed some among them who became highway robbers, and went about the country inciting the people to revolt, but they were a very small minority. Josephus goes too far in confounding them with the Pharisees, for it is certain that the doctors at Jerusalem would have wholly disavowed them.

In the time of Christ, the Pharisees and Sadducees had ceased to have any but religious quarrels. Solomon's Porch was the scene of their constant disputations, of the character of which we shall speak presently more at length.¹

There, in the first court of the Temple, we see the two parties constantly coming in contact and irritating one another. But their controversies become less and less interesting as they go on. They are too abstract. One of the disputants seems triumphantly to establish his thesis one day, and the next all may be reversed. His victory must in any case be futile and ineffective, for the Romans are watching from the height of the tower of Antonia, and will take good care that his bold words shall not pass into deeds. On the side of the Sadducees especially, controversy has lost all its ancient ardour. The high priesthood is wholly in the hands of the Sadducees; they are certain that the Pha-

¹ See Book II. ch. iv.: The philosophy of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

risees cannot wrest from them this office. Never will either the Herods or the Romans entrust the priesthood to a Pharisee ; nor would the Pharisee desire it. The Temple interests him less and less, and he feels that the future of the nation is to be looked for apart from its ritual worship. The Sadducees, being in undisturbed possession of office, have but one desire—to enjoy their position, their wealth, and all the prestige that is left to them, and to live at peace with the ruling power. Under the portico they still carry on their discussions for the sake of the people standing by and listening. But they have no zeal for the law ; they are quite indifferent about it. They possess the good things of this world, and cannot see why they should burden themselves with the yoke of Pharisaic precepts. There is no longer any rivalry between them as to which shall govern. Each party has its sphere of action well defined. The Sadducees have the Temple, the sacrifices, the priesthood, the official authority ; the Pharisees have in their charge the synagogue, the study of the law, the doctrinal and practical guidance of the people ; but each party challenges the rightness and value of the other's work. The Pharisee, in his teaching, declares war with the priesthood, and tries to bring it into contempt, contrasting the spiritual worship of the synagogue with the materialism of the Temple rites. When he takes part in the Temple services he finds fault with them, not in themselves (this he cannot do, for they are enjoined by the law), but with the manner of their performance. He complains that the incense at the Feast of Atonement is not well prepared ; that the sacrifice of the burnt offering is badly performed ; that the purifications are inadequate. The Sadducees reply by jeering at the petty ordinances of the Pharisees and at their scrupulosity. The Pharisee

has the best of the contest, for he is better acquainted than his adversary with religious questions. The Sadducee is easily led into contradicting himself, and the Pharisee sees through his ignorance, and takes advantage of it. He confounds him first in the public disputation, and then in his preaching in the open air he finds it easy to throw discredit on the Temple. "Is a sanctuary necessary?" he will say. "Is God confined to place? Is He not everywhere present?" The Pharisee never opposes the priesthood itself, because it is instituted by the law. It may even sometimes happen that a Pharisee is a priest;¹ but the Pharisee is more convinced year by year, that the Temple may pass away without detriment to the true religion of Moses. By virtue of the synagogue, his religion has a life independent of the sanctuary, and in this way the permanence of Judaism is secured. The Jew, persecuted and driven out of his own land, carries with him the scrolls of the Torah, and he, with his companions in exile, founds a synagogue. Little by little the Pharisee will abandon entirely the chimera of an indestructible earthly nationality, and after the fall of the Temple he will, taught by experience, arrive at a truly spiritual conception of his religion. He will then create the Judaism which is among us to-day; a Judaism without a country, which is simply a religious belief, and can subsist without either temple or sacrifices. All it requires is the synagogue. The Pharisees who accomplished this great work were the glory of the people Israel. Inflexible patriots and true sons of the prophets, they placed the honour of God above all else. Refusing to submit to the foreigner, though certain beforehand that they must fail in the struggle, they fought to the end for their religion, and were willing to perish them-

¹ "Vita," § 1, 2.

selves if only the law of Jehovah might abide. The Sadducees exactly reversed this. "Perish the law," said they, "sooner than we ourselves should suffer." Hence they were lost with the Temple by which they lived, while the Pharisees remained and are with us to this day. For the believing Jews of the nineteenth century are the descendants of the Pharisees of the first. They have the same faith, the same observances, the same hopes.

We say advisedly the believing Jews of the nineteenth century; for it must be admitted that there are unbelieving Jews, Israelites by birth, who have lost all religious faith. These are veritable Sadducees, and in this sense it may be said that Sadduceeism still lives; or, rather, that it has come to life again. The modern Shemite, who believes in nothing but money, and repeats with the preacher in Ecclesiastes the old refrain, "all is vanity;" the Jew banker, who thinks of nothing but buying and selling and getting gain; the Jew millionaire, who is king of the exchange, and master of the financial situation, is a typical Sadducee. He carries on the old traditions. At once an aristocrat and a trader, without faith, without conviction, without hopes, he has renounced the religion of his fathers, and is the modern incarnation of triumphant Sadduceism.

The Sadducees in the time of Christ were not then devotees contending, in opposition to the Pharisees, for a different mode of observing the law of Moses. They were simply conservatives, resisting all innovations in the established order. To truth they were utterly indifferent, and such men never stumble at any doctrines which are backed by authority and sanctioned by use and wont. They accept them and submit to them as a matter of form, without any difficulty.

The Sadducees do not correspond either to the irreligious, or to the clerical party of our own day, as some have supposed. They had not piety enough to resemble the modern sacerdotalists, and they were too positive in their religion to be called agnostics. They were at once orthodox and indifferent, with that sort of indifferentism which, while it is not fettered by ancient and generally-received creeds, can always adapt itself to them. Everything new they looked upon with suspicion, and they had a keen scent for heresy, being of opinion that the antiquity of a creed is a proof of its truth.

Their character had become hateful. They avenged themselves for the loss of their political influence under certain Maccabean kings, by vowing enmity to all who did not belong to their party. They hated the Pharisees, as need hardly be said. They were the deadly foes of Christianity from its birth. Lastly, being almost all rich and belonging to the aristocracy, they looked with profound contempt upon the poor and humble.

The people stood in much awe of them as judges. Both parties being represented¹ in the Sanhedrim, offenders might be brought before either the Sadducees or the Pharisees. The latter were held to be very indulgent; always ready to defend the accused and to speak in their favour. The Sadducees, on the contrary, had well earned the reputation of being haughty and insolent beyond bearing. It was said of them: They are not *dayyanē gezēroth* (Justices of the High Court), but *dayyanē gezēloth* (Justices of the Highway).

The Gospel history often shows us the Pharisees and Sadducees in contact with Jesus and His Apostles. The general characteristics of the two parties are just as we have described them. The Sadducees, all priests or

¹ Acts xxiii. 6.

aristocrats, form a sect apart. Not one of them is attracted to Christ; all hate Him, and it is by them His death-sentence is passed. Annas and Caiaphas were inveterate Sadducees, and in our chapter on the Sanctuary, we shall describe the life of these priests, who had nothing of religion belonging to them but the name. The first pages of the Book of Acts show us also the bitter hostility of the Sadducean aristocracy to the Apostles. The attitude of the Pharisees was quite different. Some among them were hostile to Christ, but certainly not all. Christ went freely to the houses of the Pharisees, and they themselves invited Him.¹ This occurred more than once.² When Herod Antipas was coming to arrest Jesus, some of the Pharisees hastened to warn Him, in order that He might escape.³ One eminent Pharisee, a member of the Sanhedrim, was in secret a follower of Christ;⁴ and, according to the Acts, many Pharisees accepted the new teaching, and became Judeo-Christians. It is true that Jesus uttered some stern rebukes to them.⁵ He condemned those who were narrow, fanatical, intolerant, and especially the hypocrites, the "dyed" Pharisees; but these were condemned by the Talmuds also,⁶ which tell us: "There are seven sorts of Pharisees. 1. The *heavy-laden* Pharisee, who walks with back bowed under the burden of the law, which he feigns to bear on his shoulders. 2. The *cringing* Pharisee, who seems to ask for money before fulfilling any precept. 3. The Pharisee *of the bleeding brow*, who walks with closed eyes and runs his head against a wall, rather than

¹ Luke vii. 36.² *Ibid.* xi. 37.³ *Ibid.* xiii. 31.⁴ John iii. 1; vii. 50.⁵ Matt. xxiii. 1 and foll.; Luke xi. 39 and foll.⁶ Babyl., "Sotah," 22 b; Jerus., "Beracoth," 13 b.

look upon a woman. 4. The *ostentatious* Pharisee, who wears a long flowing robe, to court observation. 5. The *self-righteous* Pharisee, always in quest of some good work to be done to wash away his sins; who seems to be saying to all the world, 'What is the thing to be done? behold, I do it.' 6. The Pharisee *whose motive is fear* of God, like Job; and 7. The Pharisee *whose motive is love* to God. This last is the best of all. He is like our father Abraham, whose faith gave him the victory over all evil inclinations."

All these Pharisees except the seventh, and perhaps the sixth, were "dyed" Pharisees, and such had always been rebuked by pious Jews. The king Janneus, when dying, bade his wife beware of men feigning themselves to be Pharisees.¹ Again we read: "The disciple of the wise who is not the same within as without, is not a disciple of the wise."² When Jesus cried, "Ye are full of iniquity," He only said what the Talmudists afterwards wrote.³

It would be unjust, then, to conclude from Christ's seven times repeated denunciation: "Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," etc., that the Pharisees were all selfish, proud, false devotees, so many *Tartuffes* playing the comedy of pietism. Doubtless there were such among them; but it appears clearly from the Gospels that the Pharisees were divided in opinion about Christ, some being favourable and others hostile to Him.⁴ This diversity of attitude is explained by the Talmuds. There we are told that, at the close

¹ Babyl., "Sotah," fol. 22, 2.

² Babyl., "Yoma," fol. 72, 2.

³ *Ibid.*, fol. 9, 2.

⁴ The passage in John ix. 16, brings these two schools clearly before us. Among the Pharisees some said, "He is breaking the Sabbath"; others admired and dared not blame Him.

of the reign of Herod the Great, the Pharisees were divided into two hostile factions, the one followers of the famous Hillel, the other of his opponent Shammaï.

Who were Hillel and Shammaï, and what religious schools did they represent in relation to primitive Christianity? These questions we shall try to answer in our next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

HILLEL AND SHAMMAI.

Origin of their Controversy.—Their Predecessors.—Was Hillel a Precursor of Christ?—The Reforms introduced by Hillel.—The Principles laid down by Shammai.—The Followers of Hillel and Shammai.

SHEMAYAH AND ABTALION.

UNDER the reign of Herod the Great, two celebrated doctors among the Pharisees, Shemayah and Abtalion, taught in Jerusalem. Among their hearers was a young man lately come from Babylon, his birthplace. His name was Hillel. He was poor but of the family of David, as tradition tells us. One day, when he had not wherewithal to pay the scholar's fee, he climbed on to the roof of the school house and managed to get close to the window, so that he could hear the lesson without entering the hall, that is without paying. But it was winter. It was snowing, and overcome by the cold he fell into a deep and dangerous sleep from which he might never have awakened. The master happily caught sight of him; he was brought down and with great difficulty restored to animation. This was the foundation of his fame. A man so consumed with zeal for knowledge must have a noble destiny. He did not disappoint these high expectations. Some years later, the 14th Nisan, the day when the passover lamb was to be sacrificed, fell on a Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath.

Was it lawful to kill the paschal lamb? Would it not be breaking the Sabbath? The Sadducees thought it would, and were not willing to proceed with the sacrifice; the Pharisees, on the other hand, deemed that it was lawful in such an exceptional case to break the Sabbath law. The question was a serious one, and its solution was referred to Hillel. For a whole day he discussed it in public, and finally resolved it in favour of the Pharisees. His arguments did not convince his hearers, till he told them that he was giving them the opinion of his masters Shemayah and Abtalion. In doing this he was faithful to the injunctions of the scribes, to teach nothing but that which was handed down. At that time, when so many new ideas were being advanced, nobody wished to be thought an innovator, and the most daring of the doctors would have feared to teach anything but what he had received. The tradition of the elders, their decisions, and nothing more, formed the substance of the teaching of the rabbis. Changes were indeed often made in the law; it was construed to convey the very opposite of what it really taught, or was set aside altogether. But this was done unconsciously, and the most revolutionary teachers did not know that they were so; on the contrary, they prided themselves on their conservatism, and boasted that they neither added to nor expunged a letter from the law nor altered even an inflection in the oral traditions.

Shemayah and Abtalion, as good Pharisees, were hostile to the priesthood and to the Sadducees. Shemayah used often to say: "Abhor pedantry and affect not high looks,"¹ clearly alluding to the Sadducean haughtiness.

These two masters had themselves sat at the feet of two others, the doctors of the law being always named

¹ "Pirke Aboth," I. 10.

in the Talmud two and two. It seems that from the time of the Maccabees to that of Herod the Great, there was a double uninterrupted succession of doctors of the law, a kind of duumvirs (*zūgōth*), belonging to the Pharisaic party and exercising a very important moral influence over the people. These duumvirs were not of equal status. The first of the two was a *nāsī* (prince). This title corresponded to that of president of the Sanhedrim. Were the duumvirs then the president and vice-president of that assembly? This question we have considered at length in our chapter on the Sanhedrim,¹ and we shall not enter into it again here. Whether they were the leaders of the Sanhedrim or not, it is certain that as the heads of the Pharisaic party, they had an immense influence over the entire nation. The first chapter of the "Pirke Aboth," gives us the names of all these masters, and quotes their most notable sayings. It commences thus: "Moses received the law on Mount Sinai and transmitted it to Joshua; Joshua to the elders, the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the members of the Great Assembly. These laid down three principles: 'Be circumspect in your judgments; gather many disciples; and put a hedge round the law.' Simon the Just was one of the last members of the Great Assembly. He said: 'The world rests upon three foundations—the law, the service of God, and charity.' Antigonus of Socho, who received the tradition from Simon the Just, said: 'Be not like servants who work for their masters in order that they may gain a reward, but be like servants who serve their master freely, and let the fear of God be upon you.'"

The chapter continues, naming afterwards Josē ben Jošser and Joseph ben Jochanan; Joshua ben Pera-

¹ See Book I. ch. iv.

chya and Nittai ha-Arbēlī; Simeon ben Shattach and Judah ben Tabbaï; Shemayah and Abtalion; Hillel and Shammaï.

The first thing that strikes us here is that attachment to tradition which we have already noted. All these masters derive their teaching from those going before. The first, Simon the Just, was a member of the "Great Assembly" (*Cenēseth haggedolah*). This was probably created by Ezra, and performed the part of an organising national assembly in the early days of the Restoration. It afterwards ceased to exist. This Great Assembly itself derived its teaching direct from the prophets, who received theirs from the seventy elders, and the seventy elders from Joshua, who again received all from Moses.

Hillel had no idea of diverging in this respect from the old use and wont, and he would assuredly have been much astonished if any one had told him that he was introducing a new spirit into Judaism. We shall show indeed that the new elements were less important than is usually supposed.

Josephus, in his history of the Jews, does not mention the duumvirs spoken of in the "Pirke Aboth," with the exception of Shemayah and Abtalion, nor can we be certain that he refers even to these, for he calls them Sameas and Pollio, and there is no positive proof of their identity. This is indeed so doubtful that M. Derenbourg asks, not without plausibility, whether Shemayah and Shammaï may not be one and the same.

As to their predecessors, we know next to nothing of their history. Simon the Just is perhaps the same as Simon the high priest, who lived at the commencement of the third century before Christ.¹

¹ Josephus says, indeed, that he was surnamed "the Just." "Ant. Jud.," XII. 2, § 5.

Josē ben Joēser, one of the early duumvirs, was also one of the most zealous promoters of the Maccabean insurrection. He was Nāsi after the triumph of Judas Maccabeus, and the regular institution of the duumvirs seems to date from this time. The death of Josē was tragical. He fell into an ambush during the war, and was crucified by his own nephew. This nephew came to see him upon the cross, and Josē said to him: "If God inflicts such sufferings on the pious, what terrible judgments must He not have for the impious."¹

It is possible to fix the date at which some of the duumvirs lived. Simeon ben Shattach is well known. He was brother to Queen Salome, who had at one time considerable power, and lived between the years 70 and 90 B.C. As he forms with Judah ben Tabbaï the third generation of the zūgoth (couples), we may suppose that the first lived about 150 B.C. After Hillel and Shammaï we hear of no more zūgoth. The party of the Pharisees is divided, in fact, into two hostile camps, and the successors of Hillel, his son Simeon, his grandson Gamaliel the Elder,² and his great-grandson Simeon, are the only names mentioned. Gamaliel lived (Josephus tells us) till the time of the war.

Let us now turn again to Hillel. He has often been regarded as a forerunner of Christianity, for which he is supposed to have prepared the way. We have ourselves spoken of him under this aspect,³ but as we now deem, erroneously. Our views have become modified and we wish to explain to what extent Hillel was

¹ Midrash, "Bereshith Rabbah," sect. 65.

² Acts v. 34.

³ See our book, "Les idées religieuses en Palestine à l'Epoque de Jésus Christ," pp. 203, and 299, 2nd edition, 1878. See also our article on Hillel, in "L'Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses."

a reformer, and where he stopped short. He lived, as we have said, under Herod the Great, a hundred years before the destruction of the Temple, consequently thirty years before the birth of Christ, and he died at the beginning of the Christian era. He came into power a short time after the Pharisees and Sadducees had ceased their civil wars. Under the stern rule of Herod, all hope of a political victory for either party was at an end; hence they confined their differences to religious questions. Hillel used his influence with the Pharisees to gain currency for ideas which did not receive, like those of his predecessors, the approval of the whole party. Shammai, who was his colleague in the duumvirate, differed from him on many points. They separated and became deadly enemies, and from this time as long as they lived, what one called white the other called black, and *vice versa*. It is certain that from Hillel dates a schism in the party of the Pharisees. It became divided against itself. This marks a new beginning, for up to this time the Pharisees had lived in profound unity. It is not strange, therefore, to find that some of them showed hostility to Jesus, while others were favourable to Him.

Jesus may have been (indeed we know He was) a determined opponent of certain customs of the Pharisees; but He did not therefore necessarily rebuke all alike, for all Pharisees were not of the same mind. Hence the different attitude taken by them with regard to Christ and His disciples in the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles. The question may be raised: Which were the more favourable to Christ, the disciples of Hillel or of Shammai? The usual reply has been: The disciples of Hillel. They had been trained by their master to be tolerant and broad, and were thus pre-

pared to receive the gospel. St. Paul was one of them, and did not he become a Christian? The disciples of Shammai, on the other hand, were the bitter enemies of Christ and His Apostles. This answer is too sweeping. The truth is: the followers both of Hillel and of Shammai were sometimes hostile, sometimes favourable to Christianity at the beginning. In a general way the Hillelites were more favourably disposed than their rivals. It is certain that they were less narrow. In the Talmuds, controverted questions are almost always decided by the disciples of Shammai in a more conservative sense than by the school of Hillel. But what are these questions? They deal with absurd minutiae and problems of casuistry utterly puerile. Even in this respect, Hillel was not always the more reasonable and liberal of the two. One day the two rival teachers were asked if it was lawful to eat an egg laid on a feast day. Shammai thought it might be, but Hillel forbade it, because, he said, the eve of the feast day might have been a Sabbath, and the formation of the egg that day in the body of the hen was a work. The Mishnah shows us that on several points such as this, Shammai proved himself broader than Hillel.¹ It is probable that Hillel gave his decisions largely out of a spirit of contradiction to Shammai. Did he seriously mean what he said? We have no doubt that he did; but in any case we feel that such quibbles contrast forcibly with the spirit of Christ and His gospel.

We must mention another characteristic of Hillel. He attached great importance to tradition, to which he applied new principles of exposition learnt probably in Babylon. He introduced, especially, certain rules not previously known for the interpretation of the Torah,

¹ "Eduyyoth," IV. 1-12; V. 1-4.

and began to write down the more important parts of the oral law.

His method of exegesis is described in the Mishnah.¹ It was called "*Sheba' Middoth*" (seven rules), because it was possible, by means of seven rules, to apply it to all the various texts. The basis of his system was: 1. The possibility of arguing from one subject to another *à fortiori*. 2. Analogy of subjects. 3. Examination of a principle contained in a single text. 4. Comparison of various texts containing similar principles. 5. Relation of general cases to a particular case which they illustrate. 6. Use of examples. 7. General meaning of a passage taken as a whole. These principles laid down by Hillel are very simple and they are still applied in hermeneutics. Subsequently Rabbi Ismaël made seven more, and combining the sixth of Hillel's with the second, he brought the whole number to thirteen.² Unhappily the practice was not always as good as the theory. The rabbis arrived, by means of these rules, at fantastic conclusions, and deduced the impossible from them by the strictest rules of logic. We shall have occasion, presently, to give examples of their singular modes of reasoning.

Hillel had also a scheme for compiling a Mishnah. He arranged the sayings of the Pharisees under six different heads. The Mishnah we have is divided in this way into six parts. It is possible that these are Hillel's divisions which have come down to us. At any rate there was at Jerusalem, in the lifetime of Jesus, a work written under the direction of this rabbi, which formed the basis of similar productions of later date.

¹ Tract "Sanhedrim," ch. VII.

² On these thirteen rules see Pressel's excellent article: Herzog's "Encycl.," 1st edition, vol. xv. p. 651.

We have said that Hillel sometimes showed greater breadth than Shammaï. We feel constrained to add that his breadth was often misplaced. Thus on the question of divorce, Shammaï was very strict. He explained the Mosaic law as Jesus afterwards did, and only sanctioned divorce in case of adultery. Hillel, as we have said, in speaking of marriage, allowed a man to put away his wife on the most futile pretexts, such as "badly preparing a dish," or "spoiling the roast." Side by side with these unworthy precepts, he has given some of a truly lofty morality, as in his rules for the generous treatment of debtors.¹

The school of Hillel seems to have early gained the ascendancy. We find Gamaliel the Elder, in the Acts of the Apostles, exercising great influence though only a private member of the Sanhedrim. We do not anywhere gather that he had any formidable opponent in the school of Shammaï. Possibly he may even have made peace between the two parties, and thus put an end to their quarrels. He was tolerant to the Christians. Yet one maxim of his shows that he was a partisan of a faith based on tradition. He says, "Get thyself an authority so as to be freed from doubt, and do not give the tithe without measuring it."² He did not like the Book of Job, and one day he commanded to bury the Targum containing it under a heap of stones.³ The reason for this condemnation of one of the most beautiful books of the Old Testament is not given.

The names of some of the early disciples of Hillel and Shammaï are known to us. They lived at the same time as Jesus Christ, and in all probability knew

¹ Deut. xv. 1-11.

² "Pirke Aboth," I. 16.

³ "Shabbath," 115 a.

and conversed with Him. One was Rabbi Simeon, the son of Hillel and father of Gamaliel; another, Rabbi Yochanan ben Zaccar, who must have been quite young at the time, for he survived the destruction of the Temple; Rabbi Zadok, Rabbi Ismael, etc.

It is the more probable that Jesus knew and conversed with them because their teaching was not exclusively given in the schools. The rabbis were in the habit in the first century of speaking in the streets and open places. We are told expressly that Rabbi Yochanan ben Zaccar "taught in the place before the Temple hill the whole day."¹ "Ben Azzar taught on the shores of Tiberias."² Rabbi Judah introduced this custom of teaching in the open air.³ This is what Jesus did.

The discussions between the Hillelites and Shammaïtes often rose to a pitch of terrible violence. They took the place of the old antagonism between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. We shall give some illustrations of this in the next chapter, in speaking of the schools and of the spirit which pervaded them.

We have still to show what was the moral tendency of the teaching of Hillel and Shammaï. On points of doctrine neither the one nor the other advanced anything new. They were casuists bound by tradition and nothing more. But they uttered some noble moral sayings. The one precept of Shammaï with which we are familiar is this: "Let the study of the law be the rule of thy life. Speak little, act much, and show gentleness to all."⁴ This last saying, if it is genuine, contradicts the Talmudic traditions which represent Shammaï as a violent,

¹ "Pesachim," fol. 25, 1.

² "'Erubin," fol. 29, 1.

³ "Mo'ēl Katan," fol. 16, 1.

⁴ "Pirke Aboth," l. 15.

passionate and dictatorial man. "Shammai," they say, "is not to be convinced by any arguments." Yet he seems to have been more popular than Hillel because he was more ardent and patriotic, and a greater enemy to the foreigner. Hillel had an eye to the Herods, and in this respect acted somewhat like a Sadducee.

The best known episode in the struggle between the two adversaries shows that Hillel had a remarkable breadth of view for his time.¹ "One day a Gentile came to find Shammai, and said to him: 'I will be a convert to Judaism if thou canst teach me the whole law while I stand before thee on one foot.' And Shammai, for all answer, struck him with the stick that he had in his hand. The Gentile went in search of Hillel, and put to him the same question. Hillel replied: 'Do nothing to thy neighbour that thou wouldest not he should do to thee; this is the whole law; all the rest follows from this.'" Hillel understood that the substance of the law consisted in the purely moral commandment to act righteously towards all men. Shammai failed to apprehend this; and if we quote presently passages from the Talmuds which show that the school of Hillel was more strict on certain points than that of Shammai, it need scarcely be said that the converse is even more often true. Shammai adhered to tradition in its primitive form, and the rules of interpretation given by Hillel seemed to him dangerous. He feared that they would strike a fatal blow at the old Mosaism.

This was the root of the opposition between the two duumvirs and their followers. We find Shammai compelling his son, while quite young, to fast on the Day of Atonement,² and removing the ceiling and covering in with boughs the room in which his grandson had just

¹ Babyl., "Shabbath," 31 a.

² Tos., "Yoma," IV.

been born, in order that the child might observe the Feast of Tabernacles from his very infancy.¹ He would allow no letters to be sent for three days before the Sabbath lest they should not arrive at their destination before the sacred day. If the letters had been carried on that day, the Sabbath would have been broken. His teaching may be summed up in one word—the strict observance of the whole law without any compromise. Hillel, on the contrary, uttered some precepts deeply imbued with the Gospel spirit: “Judge not thy neighbour till thou art in his place.” “Imitate the disciples of Aaron, seek peace, love mankind, and devote thyself to the study of the law.” “Who am I that I should think only of myself?” “Charity produces peace among all men.” “Be not sure of thyself till the day of thy death.” “Where men are wanting, show thyself a man.”² We may quote also these words, which recall one of the parables of Christ: “Go down two or three places lower than the seat offered thee, and wait till some one say to thee, ‘Come up, come up higher.’ But do not go up, lest thou have to come down again; and it is better that it be said to thee, ‘Come up, come up,’ than ‘Go down lower.’”³

We must not forget, however, that Hillel said also: “The study of the law will stand in lieu of all else.” He always subordinated moral precepts to that legal and juridical teaching which in his eyes was all-important. “An ignorant man cannot be pious,” he said—a mournful axiom, which well describes the Judaism of his time, and suffices to condemn it. We must bear in mind also that this word “neighbour” had an entirely different meaning on the lips of Jesus from that in which Hillel

¹ “Succah,” I. 18.

² “Pirke Aboth,” *passim*.

³ Midrash Rabbah, “Vayyikra,” § 1.

uses it. With Hillel the neighbour could be no other than a Jew. It never entered the mind of an Israelite of the first century that a Gentile or Samaritan could be in any sense a neighbour. Jesus was the first who dared to call the hated Samaritan "neighbour," and the spectacle which the Churches formed by St. Paul presented twenty years later, when Jew and Gentile sat together at the table of the Lord, was a thing absolutely new. When Jesus said, "All ye are brethren," he founded a universal brotherhood of which Hillel had never dreamed. Hillel was not then, as has been said, the "elder brother of Christ;" but he was assuredly a great teacher. He did indeed "strain at a gnat;" he did "pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin;" but it could not in justice be said that he omitted "the weightier matters of the law—judgment, mercy, and faith." We must be careful, however, not to exaggerate the value of the precepts he has left us. They are in no way superior to some of the utterances of Epictetus or Marcus Aurelius.

At what date did these famous rivals die? About the death of Shammai we know nothing. With regard to Hillel we have a choice of two dates. According to one Talmudic tradition,¹ he died in the year 5 B.C., that is to say, two years before the death of Herod and a year or eighteen months before the birth of Christ. According to another passage,² he was "president of the Sanhedrim" for forty years; and as this presidency began thirty years before the Christian era, he must have died in the year 10 of that era, when Jesus was about fourteen years of age.

¹ "Sotah," 48 b.

² Babyl., "Shabbath," fol. 15 a.

CHAPTER III.

THE DOCTORS OF THE LAW.—THE SCHOOLS.

Origin of the Scribes.—Their Various Functions.—Their Interpretations of the Law.—The *Halacah*.—The *Agada*.—The School.—Disputations.—The Parables.—The Authority of the Rabbis.—The Duties of their Disciples.—The Services of the Doctors given gratuitously.—Tradition Placed before the Law, the Scribe before the Prophet.

THE New Testament speaks repeatedly of certain personages beside the Pharisees and Sadducees, whom it calls the scribes, or doctors of the law. This term does not represent a religious school or party in the nation, but simply an official position.

The scribes (*sopherim*)¹ are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, even in the books written before the Exile.² It was their office, even at this remote period, to write upon the sacred scrolls the text of the law, and to watch over its safe keeping. But the passages to which we have just referred indicate more important functions and more extended powers.

In fact, having it as their mission to write the text, the scribes made a study of it and commented on it,

¹ In the singular *sopher*, from the verb *saphar*, which in the Piel signifies "to count," "those who count the letters of the law." "Kid-dushin," 30, 1; "Sanhed.," XI. 3; "Kelim," XIII. 7; "Yadayim," III.

² 2 Sam. viii. 17; xx. 25; 2 Kings xii. 10; xix. 2; xxii. 3.

and it is easy to understand how they gradually came to have a great influence, and became "doctors of the law" (*Tanna'im*). Ezra, who was himself a scribe,¹ and the restorer of the Torah, doubtless added much to their importance.²

It is probable that in the first century the somewhat vague title of scribe was used with various meanings. The Talmuds give it several senses. Sometimes the scribe is simply the man of letters as opposed to the illiterate.³ At other times the name is given to teachers of youth, or to those who perform certain offices, such as drawing up letters of divorce.⁴ The scribes' most important functions were connected with the Sanhedrim, the synagogue, and the school (*Beth-ham-midrash*).⁵ They took part in the sittings of the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem and in the provincial Sanhedrim without

¹ Ezra vii. 6, II.

² Scribe is, in New Testament Greek, γραμματεὺς, a doctor of the law νομικός or νομοδιδάσκαλος. In the first century these terms were all used synonymously (Matt. xxii. 35 ; Luke vii. 30 ; x. 25, etc.). Josephus calls the scribes ἱερογραμματεῖς ("B. J.," VI. 5, § 3), and πατρῶν ἐξηγηταὶ νόμων ("Ant. Jud.," XVII. 6, § 2). We find also in the New Testament the terms κύριος (Matt. viii. 25), διδάσκαλος (Matt. viii. 19), ἐπιστάτης (Luke v. 5 ; viii. 24. 45 ; ix. 33, 49 ; xvii. 37). The doctor was also called Father (πατήρ), Abba in the Mishnah, or καθηγητής (Matt. xxiii. 9, 10) ; but the name used by preference was Rabbi. Of this we shall have more to say presently.

³ "Beracoth," 45, 2.

⁴ "Sanhed.," fol. 17. 2. It need scarcely be said that all the active, militant Pharisees were scribes, but all the scribes were not necessarily Pharisees. There might be some Sadducean scribes, but they were not many.

⁵ In the plural *Batē-Midrashoth*. Sometimes a poetical comparison was drawn between the ranks of auditors and the rows of vine-stocks in a vineyard, and the school was called the vineyard ("Eduyyoth," II. 4).

being necessarily members of these assemblies.¹ They attended rather as experts to settle difficult questions.

In the synagogue they read the text and translated it into the vulgar tongue (*Mikrā*). They explained the traditions and their application (*Mishnah*). Lastly, they gave a mystical and allegorical interpretation of Scripture (*Midrash*).² In the school they performed the same duties, with this difference, that in the one they paid more special attention to instruction, and in the other to edification.

The exegesis of the synagogue, in which the imagination of the scribe found free play, was called *Agada*. The exegesis of the school, which was purely legal, was called *Halakah*. We have already referred to these two kinds of teaching in our introductory chapter.

It is probable that among the scribes some were more adapted for edification and others for instruction, so that they divided themselves into exponents of the law and preachers.

The preachers were sometimes even more fanciful than the teachers of the law. Their explanations, which were supposed to be edifying, were simply burlesques. The plain meaning of Scripture did not satisfy them. They invented three other meanings: 1. *Rémez*, that is to say, the interpretation which gave not only to a word, but to a letter, the sense of an entire phrase. 2. *Derāsh*, the practical edifying meaning. 3. *Sōd*, the hidden meaning, the theosophic secret of creation, of angels, etc.

¹ "Sanhed.," fol. 17, 2. "Simon judged before the Sanhedrim seated on the ground." In fact, the scribe, who was consulted by the Sanhedrim, did not sit upon the same platform as the members of that assembly, but upon a lower level.

² Acts xv. 21; 1 Cor. xiv. 3: παράκλησις, οἰκοδομή, παραμυθία.

Hillel was the author of the seven rules of the *Halachah*, which we have enumerated. The scribes wished to fix also the rules of the *Agada*. Rabbi Eliezer undertook this, and set them down at thirty-two. It is not worth while to enumerate them. If there is some slight interest in Hillel's rules, there is absolutely no sense in Rabbi Eliezer's. We may quote one of these absurd regulations. In handling the Scripture it was allowable to replace one word by another, if it was of the same numerical value. For example, the rabbis were shocked to read in the Law¹ that Moses had married an Ethiopian woman. Therefore they replaced the word *Cushiith* (Cushite) by the words *Yephath Mar'eh* (Beautiful to look at). Both expressions give the same number in figures—736.²

The early Christians practised this sort of calculation. The author of the Epistle of Barnabas³ argues, from the 318 servants of Abraham, that this patriarch had already in his mind the cross of Christ. For the number 18 is written IH. This is the name of Jesus (*Ἰησοῦς*) and 300 is written T, which represents the cross.⁴

The writer of the Apocalypse sets his readers a riddle of this kind to guess when he gives them the number 666. We have also examples of agadic exegesis in the New Testament.⁵

The Fathers of the Church often reasoned in the same manner; and the Kabbala of later times was nothing

¹ Num. xii. 1.

² We quote from the Targum of Onkelos. See Hausrath, "Die Zeit Christi," vol. i. p. 98 and foll., and Gfrörer, "Das Jahrh. des Heils," vol. i. p. 244 and foll.

³ Ch. ix.

⁴ See Scherer, "Revue de théologie de Strasbourg," 1856, p. 9.

⁵ Gal. iii. 16; iv. 22 and foll.; Matt. xxii. 31, 32.

but a development of the agadic principles laid down in the first century by the doctors of the law.

The school was the centre of the teaching of the scribes. There they were in their element, expounding the law, and there they gave real courses of casuistry.¹ There they were accustomed to meet on the Sabbath-day after the synagogue service. The school might be held in a building specially set apart for teaching, or the instruction might be given in the open air. At Jerusalem, the court of the Temple or some inner hall of the building was used daily for this purpose. Hillel, as we have seen, was taught in the school of Shemayah and Abtalion. He himself opened a rival school to that of Shammaï, and left it to his successors. His son Simeon, and his grandson Gamaliel, taught in it. Saul of Tarsus was brought up in the school of Gamaliel. There he, the young scribe, was trained in logic, and after passing an examination, received the *horaah*, or certificate of his qualification to teach.

The learners either stood or sat on the ground,² the master occupied a pulpit or a raised seat.³

The discussions of the school often degenerated into disputes, and the contending scribes did not hesitate to insult one another, for there was no law to interfere and punish the offender. Jews indeed have never known how to argue calmly. Jesus raised His protest against this use of violent language, so common in His time.⁴ Such opprobrious terms as fool, imbecile, idiot, were in frequent use, and the word Raca was constantly

¹ "B. J.," I. 53, § 2.

² Babyl., "Sanhed.," fol. 7, 2. Matt. xiii. 2. It was after the death of Gamaliel that it became the custom for the disciples to sit. "Sotah," ch. IX. hal. 15.

³ Acts xxii. 3.

⁴ Matt. v. 22.

to be heard.¹ We can scarcely form an idea of the rancour of these quarrels, and of the bitter mutual hatred in which these scribes indulged. This hatred was fostered by the spirit of the times, and by the constant agitation of the people rising gradually into a perfect paroxysm of exasperation against the foreigners. The followers of Hillel and of Shammai were even more bitter against each other than the Pharisees and Sadducees.

These came by degrees to have little to do with one another. The differences between them were of such a nature as to build up an almost complete wall of separation. In order to fight, there must be a common fighting ground; and the Sadducees, confined to the Temple, saw less and less of the Pharisees, who were chiefly to be found in the schools. The Pharisees then turned upon one another. The mere shades of difference which divided the followers of Hillel from those of Shammai created deeper schisms between them than if they had thought differently on all points. The Hillelite despised the Sadducee as almost an infidel. He did not seem to him worth arguing with. But the follower of Shammai, whom he regarded as still a believer, though a mistaken one, appeared to him far more dangerous. We read of a time when the Hillelites and Shammaites came to blows: "This was a dark day," says one of the Talmuds,² "like that on which the golden calf was made. The Shammaites killed some of the Hillelites." There was an adage that "Elijah the Tishbite himself could not appease the disputes between the disciples of Hillel and those of Shammai."

We observe the complete absence, among the Jews

¹ Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 32, 2.

² Jerus., "Shabbath," fol. 3, 3.

of the first century, of what we call humour. This is quite a distinctive feature. The Talmuds do not give us one happy repartee, one pleasantry, one humorous word spoken by the rabbis.¹ The doctor of the law was always opinionated in his estimate of things, implacable in his judgments, absolute in his criticisms. His intellect was narrow, his character harsh, his pride intolerable, and his want of perception of shades of distinction makes all his writings which have come down to us heavy and unpleasing.

The doctor, from his high seat, muttered his teaching into the ear of an interpreter, who repeated it aloud to the whole assembly.² This curious practice explains the words of Jesus: "What ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon the housetop."³

The teaching was often given in parables.⁴ R. Meir says: "One third of the teaching was tradition, one third was allegory, one third parable." We shall quote here one of these parables which bears a striking resemblance to one spoken by Christ:⁵ "To whom shall we compare P. Bon Bar Chayya? There was a king who had hired many workmen. Among them was one who performed his task in a remarkable manner. What did the king? He took him, and walked up and down with him. When the evening was come, the other workmen came to receive their wages, and the king gave to this man the same as to the rest. One of the workmen murmured, saying: 'We have worked hard all the day, and this man has worked only two hours, and thou givest him the same wages as to us.' The king

¹ The passage in Gal. v. 12 does not at all modify this opinion.

² Babyl., "Sanh," fol. 7, 2; Babyl., "Yoma," fol. 82, 2.

³ Matt. x. 27.

⁴ Matt. xiii. 3.

⁵ Matt. xx. 1 and foll.

answered him: 'He has done more in two hours than you in a whole day.' Even so R. Bar has learned more of the law in twenty-eight years than another in a hundred."¹ Here is another of these parables: "There was a king who had a vineyard, and he had three enemies. What did these enemies do? The first cut the boughs, the second trampled the bunches under foot, the third pulled up the canes. This King is the King of kings, the blessed Lord. The vineyard of the Lord is the house of Israel; the three enemies are Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, and Haman."

The doctors of the law had absolute control over their disciples. Their authority was not official, like that of the priests, but it was in reality much greater. Before the time of Hillel, they had no special title; but after his time, they were never mentioned without the prefix, Rabbi.

"Ye love to be called of men, rabbi,"² said Jesus. A disciple was indeed never allowed to address his master³ in any other way, and between themselves they also used this title.⁴ "Rabbi" signifies "my master." The word *rab* is an adjective, meaning great. Employed substantively, it means prince, lord, master. We find also the form Rabbah⁵ in the New Testament. Rabboni⁶ is only Rabbah with a suffix. In ordinary use, the suffix of Rabbi lost its original meaning. The word was used in the same sense as *Monsieur* in French, which is derived from *mon* and *seigneur* (my lord).

It is remarkable that nowhere in the Talmuds do we

¹ Jerus., "Beracoth," fol. 5, 3.

² Matt xxiii. 7.

³ Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 27, 1.

⁴ Jerus., "Mo'ed Katan," fol. 81, 1.

⁵ "Pirke Aboth," i, 16; "Sotah," 9, 15; "Yebamoth," xvi. 7.

⁶ Mark x. 51; John xx. 16.

find the expression "Good Master," employed by the young ruler and rejected by Jesus.¹

Often the master would give a kiss to his disciple, but the disciple rarely gave one to the master.²

The rabbis claimed a place before father or mother in the respect and affection of their disciples. "Respect to thy masters," said they, "comes next to reverence to God."³ "If the father and the master of a disciple have both lost something, the loss sustained by the master ought to take precedence of the other, and the disciple ought first to help him to recover what he has lost. For his father is of use to him only in this life; while his master teaches him wisdom, and this is useful for the world to come. But if his father is himself a doctor of the law, then his loss should stand first. If a man's father and his master has each a burden to bear, the master must be helped before the father. If the father and the master are in prison, the master must be ransomed first; and afterwards the father, unless the father be himself a doctor, in which case his claim comes first."⁴

The rabbis uniformly claimed the first place for themselves. They took it at all feasts to which they were bidden. In the synagogue they sat in the foremost rank, and in the streets their disciples were expected to salute them, bending to the ground.⁵

¹ Matt. xix. 16; Mark x. 17.

² Judas betrayed Christ by a kiss. It is not likely that he so acted under pretext of performing a duty. He only wished to point out Christ to those who were come to arrest Him. Matt. xxvi. 49; Mark xiv. 45.

³ "Pirke Aboth," xiv. 2.

⁴ "Baba Meçia," II. 11. It is curious to place this passage alongside with the words of Christ, Matt. x. 37, "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me."

⁵ Matt. xxxiii. 6, 7; Mark xii. 38, 39; Luke xi. 43; xx. 46.

This high dignity affected by them is explained when we remember that these doctors united in their teaching all the known science of the time. It may be said that they were at once lawyers, pastors, physicians, doctors of science, doctors of letters, of law and of theology.

They required in their pupils: 1st, That they should have faithful memories; 2nd, That they should add nothing to what was taught them. R. Dostaï, the son of Janaï, said on the authority of R. Meir: "He who forgets parts of what he has learned, causes his own loss."¹ "Every disciple is bound to teach in the same words which his master has used,"² and the highest praise that could be given to a disciple was this: "He is like a cemented well, which loses not a drop of water."³ This mode of training enables us to understand how it was the disciples of Jesus could keep His teachings in memory, and repeat them with such singular fidelity.

The office of a doctor of the law was unpaid. Hillel laid special stress on the necessity of not teaching the law in a mercenary spirit. "He who makes a profit of the crowning glory of a teacher's place, away with him!"⁴ We have told the story of Hillel's inability, in his youth, to pay the fee required by Shemayah and Abtalion. But while the truth of this tradition remains doubtful, the proofs of the absolute freeness of the rabbinical teaching abound. "If any one takes a fee for doing justice, his judgment is of no value." "A bought witness is worthless."⁵ We know how strictly Paul adhered in this respect to the tradition which he had received, and how determined he was to evangelise without payment.

¹ "Pirke Aboth," III. 8.

² "Eduyyoth," I. 3.

³ "Pirke Aboth," II. 8. ⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 13. ⁵ "Becoroth," XIV. 6.

Perhaps the custom of taking a fee from scholars may have existed till the time of Hillel, and been abolished by him because he had himself suffered from it. The hypothesis is plausible, but there is no evidence to support it.

Most of the rabbis had a trade by which they could gain their living.¹ Hillel, as we have said, was a hewer of wood.²

But the trade was never allowed to take precedence of the teaching. Ben Sira urges that exclusive attention be not given to manual labour, and exalts the blessings attached to the study of the law.³ Rabbi Meir says: "Give thyself a little to thy trade, and much to the study of the law."⁴ And Hillel himself says: "He who devotes himself too much to manual labour will not grow wise."⁵

But we cannot believe in the disinterestedness of the scribes. "They devour widows' houses," says Christ, "and for a pretence make long prayers."⁶ The Pharisees are "lovers of money."⁷ "All their works they do to be seen of men."⁸

We have spoken of the authority arrogated by the scribes, of their pride, formalism and pomposity. They had, in fact, taken the place of priest and prophet in the esteem of the people. It was not the *Cohen* whom the people consulted, but the *Sopher*. And, strange to say, the decisions of the scribes came in the end to be esteemed, not only as much as, but more than the words of the law. The Talmuds abound in passages which

¹ See Acts xviii. 3 ; 1 Thess. ii. 9 ; 2 Thess. iii. 8.

² See Book I. ch. vii.

³ Eccles. xxxviii. 24 ; xxxix. 11. ⁴ "Pirke Aboth," IV. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 5.

⁶ Mark xii. 40 ; Luke xx. 47.

⁷ Luke xvi. 14.

⁸ Matt. xxiii. 5.

put tradition above the law of Moses. "The words of the scribes are more lovely than the words of the law ; the one are important, the other trifling ; the words of the scribes are all important."¹ "To neglect the precepts of the phylacteries is a violation of the law, but is not counted a sin ; but he who makes five divisions (instead of four), and thus adds to the rules of the doctors, is guilty."² "The words of the elders are more important than those of the prophets."

The Torah always kept its place ; it was of divine origin, and no one thought of depreciating it ; but it was gradually overshadowed and obscured by tradition. The same thing happened in the Christian Church in the Middle Ages. The inspired commentaries of the Church on Holy Scripture came to be regarded as more important than the Scriptures themselves. "The Church teaches," says the Catholic, not "the Bible teaches" ; and yet the teachings of the Church are, it tells us, only the logical development and corollary of the Bible teaching. The Bible contains implicitly, says the Catholic, all that the Church has prescribed in later times. A Jew of the first century thought the same. The scribe spoke in the name of God ; he fulfilled the law. Jesus entered His protest against this great error, common to all religions, when He said, "Ye transgress the commandment of God because of your tradition."³

¹ Jerus., "Beracoth," fol. 3, 2.

² *Ibid.*

³ Matt. xv. 3.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PHARISEES AND SADDUCEES.

Quotations from Josephus.—Providence.—The Resurrection of the Body.—The Act more important than the Thought.—The Real Points at Issue between the Pharisees and Sadducees.—Brotherhoods among the Pharisees.—Epitome of the History of both Parties.

WE have said that, under Herod the Great, the Pharisees and Sadducees had become mere students, holding disputations in the porch of the Temple, and confining themselves to the ventilation of ideas, since they were debarred from any public action. Josephus goes even further, and represents them as contemplative philosophers absorbed in speculative theories, and almost indifferent to their practical application. In our Introduction we have discussed these assertions of the Jewish historian. They are inexact and partial, and are made with a purpose; nevertheless, they contain an element of truth, and one which we shall try to bring out in this chapter.

We give first the translation of one of the most important passages in Josephus.¹ Speaking of the time which intervened between the death of Judas Maccabeus and that of Alexandra, he says: "At this time there were three sects among the Jews, who had different

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XIII. 5, § 9.

opinions concerning human actions ; the one was called the sect of the *Pharisees*, another the sect of the *Sadducees*, and the other the sect of the *Essenes*. Now for the Pharisees, they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But the sect of the *Essenes* affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination. And for the *Sadducees*, they take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal, but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power ; so that we are ourselves the causes of what is good, and receive what is evil from our own folly. However, I have given a more exact account of these opinions in the second book of the *Jewish War*."

The passage to which he refers runs as follows :¹ "As to the two orders first mentioned (the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*), the *Pharisees* are those who are esteemed most skilful in the exact explication of their laws, and introduce the first sect. These ascribe all to fate (or Providence) and to God, and yet allow, that to act what is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men, although fate does co-operate in every action. They say that all souls are incorruptible, but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies, but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. But the *Sadducees* are those that compose the second order, and take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil ; and they say, that to act what is good or what is evil is at man's own choice, and that the

¹ "B. J.," II. 8, § 14.

one or the other belongs so to every one, that they may act as they please. They also take away the belief of the immortal duration of the soul and the punishments and rewards in Hades. Moreover, the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and are for the exercise of concord and regard for the public; but the behaviour of the Sadducees one towards another is in some degree wild, and their conversation with those that are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them. And this is what I had to say concerning the philosophic sects among the Jews."¹

Elsewhere we read:² "They (the Pharisees) have so great a power over the multitude, that when they say anything against the king or against the high priest, they are presently believed."

And again:³ "What I would explain is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the law of Moses; and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them, and say that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side. But about these two sects, and that of the Essenes, I have treated accurately in the second book of Jewish affairs."

¹ This is all that he says of the Pharisees in the second book, to which he refers us. The details he gives refer to the Essenes alone.

² "Ant. Jud.," XIII. 10, § 5.

³ *Ibid.*, 6.

We read again:¹ "The Jews had, for a great while, three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves—the sect of the Essenes, and the sect of the Sadducees, and the third sort of opinions was that of those called Pharisees—of which sects, although I have already spoken in the second book of the Jewish War, yet will I a little touch upon them now. Now for the Pharisees, they live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet, and they follow the conduct of reason, and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do; and they think they ought earnestly to strive to observe reason's dictates for practice. They also pay a respect to such as are in years; nor are they so bold as to contradict them in anything which they have introduced; and when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they think fit; since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a temperament, whereby what He wills is done, but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again: on account of which doctrines they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people; and whatsoever they do about Divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform them according to their direction; insomuch that the cities gave great attestations to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives and their discourses also.

"But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this, that souls

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 1, § 2, 3, 4.

die with the bodies; nor do they regard the observation of anything besides what the law enjoins them, for they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent; but this doctrine is received but by a few, yet by those still of the greatest dignity. But they are able almost to do nothing of themselves; for when they become magistrates, as they are unwillingly and by force sometimes obliged to be, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees, because the multitude would not otherwise bear them."

Lastly we note the following passage:¹ "There was a certain sect of men that were Jews, who valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the law of their fathers, and made men believe they were highly favoured by God. Women were easily inveigled by them. These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing kings. A cunning sect they were, and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting and doing mischief."

The contradiction between the language of Josephus in this passage and that which he uses in all the other extracts we have given, is obvious. The reader cannot but be struck with its resemblance to certain words in the Gospels about the Pharisees. "Women are easily inveigled by them," says Josephus. "They devour widows' houses," says Christ. "They made men believe they were highly favoured of God," adds Josephus "Ye outwardly appear righteous unto men," says Christ "but inwardly ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity." It is easy to draw the parallel, and to us it seems certain that the passage we have just quoted from the "Antiquities of the Jews," does not convey Josephus'

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XVII. 2, § 4.

own opinion about the Pharisees. He probably copied this paragraph from Nicolas of Damascus, without reflecting that he had himself elsewhere given an entirely different idea of the great party to which he pretended to belong.¹ The opinion of Nicolas of Damascus has none the less weight with us, and its complete harmony with the words of the Gospel gives it a great historical value.

As to the statements of Josephus himself, they may be easily summed up in a few words. The Pharisees are half fatalistic rationalists. They believe in the immortality of the soul. After death the wicked are shut up under the earth, and the souls of the righteous return to inhabit this world in other bodies (metempsychosis). The Pharisees are poor, kindly in manner, and possessing great influence over the people. As to the Sadducees, they are believers in absolute freewill. They reject all oral traditions and adhere to that which is written. They deny any survival after death. They are few in number, and find their adherents chiefly in the upper classes. They are haughty with the common people, and have no influence over them. The Pharisees are the leaders of the public mind.

These assertions of the Jewish historian are to be received with discretion. Thanks to the Talmuds, it is not difficult to disentangle the true from the false in them.

In the first place, Josephus takes no account of the history of the Pharisees and Sadducees under the Maccabees, that is to say, of their long and fruitful period of political activity. When the Jews were still free and governed themselves, the two parties contended

¹ See Schürer, "Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte," p. 424; Derenbourg, "Histoire de la Palestine," p. 123. Note

with each other for power, and each in turn secured supremacy and influence. We have given one chapter to this part of their history. But from the year 63 B.C. (the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey), and still more distinctly from the accession of Herod, the two parties assumed much the aspect which they wear according to Josephus. They ceased from their dreams of political power. The Sadducees, considerably enfeebled and lessened in numbers by the late civil wars, were only a minority gathering their few adherents from the Temple aristocracy. The Pharisees, abandoning the priesthood, made themselves poor and popular, gaining over the masses of the people entirely to their side.

Some of them became distinguished members of the Sanhedrim, and there encountering their ancient adversaries the Sadducees, they still disputed with them. During the life of Jesus, there went on in the porticos of the Temple disputations both between the Pharisees and Sadducees, and among the Pharisees themselves (Hillelites against Shammaïtes).

We have already spoken of these contentions of the schools. But what were the questions on which the Pharisees and Sadducees were at issue? According to Josephus, they took opposite sides on the questions of fatalism and freewill and of immortality, the Pharisees being determinists and believing in a future life, the Sadducees rejecting alike fatalism and immortality.

If we put the word providence instead of fatalism, and the resurrection of the body instead of the immortality of the soul, we shall be nearer the truth.

To speak first of providence. Does God direct His people? What degree of freedom of action does He allow them? Have we an assurance that He will always deliver us? or does our future lot depend partly upon

ourselves? These questions arose naturally after the final overthrow of the Asmoneans. How can it be, asked the Pharisees, that God who delivered us from the Seleucidæ and gave us back our old independence, now chastens us afresh, allowing the Romans to come and bring us all again into bondage, although our whole nation has remained faithful to Him? What can we do? what can we think?

All the old problems presented themselves with fresh urgency. The question of God's control of human events clamoured for solution. It became identified with that of the coming of Messiah to which Josephus makes no allusion, but which we know largely occupied the attention of the Pharisees. Their faith in providence was an important element in their political programme. The Sadducees lost courage in adversity. They would say, "Ours is a lost cause, it is only a question of time," and they made up their minds accordingly. The Pharisees said, "God will certainly come and save us!"

It is possible, moreover, that the two sects may have had purely theoretical discussions among themselves on this important subject. This seems implied by certain sayings of the Pharisees which have come down to us in the Talmuds: "Providence watches over us," they said, "but freewill has been given to man."¹ R. 'Akibah said one day: "Everything is allowed; we have liberty; the world is judged with kindness, and everything depends on the greatest number of actions good or bad done by a man."² This is the "just medium" of which Josephus speaks. Did the Sadducees ever use in relation to determinism the language ascribed to them by the Jewish historian? It is not impossible, but they

¹ "Pirke Aboth," III. 15 See also "Beracoth," IX. 5.

² *Ibid.*, 12.

certainly did not deny the intervention of God in the world, since they accepted the whole law. The respective ideas of the Pharisees and Sadducees in relation to the problem of the Divine prescience and of human liberty formed an essential part of their respective political programmes. The Sadducees had no schools, it is true; but from the time of Herod the Great, they had been divided into two groups—the courtiers, the high functionaries of the Temple on the one hand, and the students on the other. It is among the latter class that we shall find the disputers with the Pharisees.

As to the resurrection, the attitude of the two parties was this: the Pharisees had formulated, under the Maccabees, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. Their aim was to strengthen the hearts of the faithful, many of whom fell in battle for the holy cause of Jehovah, without seeing any reward for their pains. The doctrine of the resurrection was then promulgated. The Pharisees did not intend by this, merely the survival of the soul, the immaterial part of man, nor even of a spiritual body, as St. Paul afterwards teaches, but a reunion with the very body which had been laid down. One curious passage makes this quite clear:¹ “Adrian asked Rabbi Joshua, the son of Hananiah: ‘Whence does a man live again for eternity?’ and he replied, ‘From the spine of the back.’ Adrian said: ‘Prove it to me.’ Then Joshua, the son of Hananiah, took a little bone of the spine and placed it in water, and it would not melt; he put it in the fire, but it was not burned; he put it in a mill, but it was not crushed; in a forge and hammered on it, but the anvil was shattered and the hammer broken.” Such were the arguments used by the Pharisees in disputing with the Sadducees.

¹ Midrasch, “Kohaleth,” fol. 114, 3.

In the visible reign of Messiah upon earth, for which the Pharisees were looking, His first act would be to raise the bodies of the just, and this doctrine was retained in part by the early Christians. Some of them, like the Pharisees, adhered to the doctrine of a resurrection of the body in the most material sense. Others, like St. Paul, spoke of "a spiritual body."

These bold affirmations made the Sadducees smile. They had a preconceived hatred of all new ideas. They have been called materialists, because they did not admit the existence either of angels or spirits, nor the possibility of the resurrection of the body.¹ But there is no proof that they denied what in our day we call the invisible world. They were only opposed to new speculations. They believed firmly in Mosaism and adhered to the letter of the Scriptures. Now the resurrection, they said, was not supported by a single text in the law. Those passages which the Pharisees quoted proved nothing. And yet these new doctrines troubled the people, and gave rise to endless discussions which they found simply wearisome. Essentially practical as they were, the Sadducees were averse to mystical reveries which had no basis in any written text. They fell back on the silence of Moses as justifying their own. This is always the way of people who do not care to sift questions thoroughly. The Sadducees for the same reasons discouraged Messianic hopes. These led to disturbances, and they preferred a quiet life. In controversy they showed unpardonable levity.² When indifference to the received faith reaches such a point,

¹ Matt. xxii. 23 ; Mark xii. 18 ; Luke xx. 27 ; Acts xxiii. 8 ; iv. 1, 2.

² See the story of the seven brothers, Matt. xxii. 23-29 and parall.

it is the most certain sign of the decadence of religion. The Sadducees were the living proof that the old dispensation was drawing to a close.

It has been said again that the Sadducees only recognised the law and rejected the prophets. This is to confound them with the Samaritans and the Karaites, a confusion into which Tertullian, Origen, and Jerome¹ fell, and which was due no doubt to the rejection by the Sadducees of Messianic hopes. It was therefore supposed that they rejected the prophetic books. This is a mistake. Their Bible was the Bible of all the Jews of their time.

Again, it has been said that the Sadducees rejected all tradition and only accepted "the law and the prophets." On the contrary, the Sadducees had a certain number of traditions which they approved.² The inheritance of the "Great Assembly" belonged to them equally with the Pharisees. Josephus does not say they only accepted the law of Moses; he says they only accepted "what was written." He does indeed add that, according to them, that which had been handed down from one generation to another was not binding. Nevertheless, we know positively that they had "a book of decisions."³ The Talmuds blame them for it: "The decisions ought not to be written in a book;" and further: "Men are not free to put in writing that which should be transmitted orally." We conclude from this that the Sadducees blamed the Pharisees for not committing the oral traditions to writing. We know, indeed, that for a long time the Pharisees wrote nothing. Hillel was the first who decided to collect the traditions

¹ See Winer, "Realwörterbuch," vol. ii. p. 352 and foll.

² "Sanh.," 33 *b*; "Horayyoth," 4 *a*.

³ "Megillath Ta'anith."

in a written form. As to the Sadducees, they must have had, long before the first century, a collection of traditions in writing, known as "the book of decisions."

We have headed this chapter "The Philosophy of the Pharisees and Sadducees." Is not the word philosophy a misnomer? When Josephus speaks of philosophy, is he not misled by his own preconceptions, or is he not attempting to mislead his Greek and Roman readers? This seems to us more than probable.

There is everything to show that he is influenced by Greek ideas, and freely transfers them to his own countrymen. The essential thing with the Jew was ritual, some act to be performed, some work to be done in fulfilment of the law. All which was simply theological and speculative was left to every man's own determination. Men might think as they liked, provided they did what was commanded. They might be very heretical at heart, even semi-materialistic like the Sadducees, and yet be none the less good Jews, faithful Israelites, if they fulfilled the law, recited the *Shema'*, and observed the Sabbath.

The Samaritan was hated, not because his ideas were not orthodox, but because he did not act like the rabbis, and especially because he did not worship at Jerusalem. Jesus preached what He would. No one found fault with what He said. What He was charged with was breaking the Sabbath, and not keeping the law. With regard to the kingdom of God, the coming of Messiah, revelation (the basis of all theology), every one was free to hold what opinions he pleased. There was no compulsory orthodox creed; but certain practices were compulsory. In the early days of Christianity it was so also in the Church. The distinction between orthodox and heterodox came later. When dogmatism

had grown up, then a creed was formulated, and every one who would not subscribe to it was excluded from the Church. The Jews always ignored these formulas and confessions of faith. To eat pork was a much more serious offence in the first century than to deny the existence of angels and the resurrection of the body, and, strange to say, the Jews have preserved this characteristic. We know how thoroughly the Judaism of to-day has become permeated by modern liberal ideas. Many Israelites in our day are simply freethinkers; but all, without exception, still adhere to their ritual. Circumcision is rigorously practised among them, and the essential ordinances of the law are always observed.

It is certain, then, that if the Pharisees and Sadducees discussed among themselves the question of determinism, they did so without throwing much passion into it. Far more important in their eyes were the controversies relating to the rites to be observed, and the ceremonies obligatory in certain cases.

We may give an example. The Sadducees required a long series of purifications for the high priest, whose office it was to prepare the ashes of the red heifer. The Pharisees were less exacting on this point; but they showed an extraordinary zeal for the adequate cleansing of the sacred vessels. There was one day set apart for the purification of the candelabra in the Temple, and the Sadducees were wont to say mockingly, "They will soon make the globe of the sun pass through the waters of lustration."¹

Again the Pharisees said: "If any one pours a liquid from a pure vessel into an impure, the stream, so long as it does not touch the impure vessel, remains pure."

¹ Mishnah, "Chagigah," III. 8; "Yadayim," IV. 6, 7.

The Sadducees said : "The liquid is impure as soon as it has left the pure vessel." The Pharisees thought that the Temple treasury ought to provide for the expenses of the daily sacrifice. The Sadducees demanded individual offerings for this purpose.

"The offering of fine flour presented with the slain beast should be burnt upon the altar," said the Pharisee. "No," replied the Sadducee, "it belongs to the priests." These different answers to the last two questions are easily understood. The Sadducees were the priests, and profited by the money given to the Temple and by the meat of the sacrifices.

When the high priest was a Pharisee, as happened under the Maccabees, he entered into the holy of holies on the great Day of Atonement without having burnt incense, and lighted it behind the curtain. The Sadducean high priest lighted it before entering.

The Pharisees allowed the pecuniary compensations named in the Pentateuch except in the case of homicide.¹ The Sadducees carried out to the letter the law of retaliation.

Such were the real differences between the two parties, and they threw the greatest earnestness into the discussion of these paltry details.

One of their divisions gave rise to an institution among the Pharisees which was to have a great influence upon early Christianity.

We refer to the sacred feasts, those brotherly agapes of which the Pharisees were the real originators. The Sadducean priests had religious meals in the Temple, in which they ate the flesh of the victims offered on the altar. They began with ablutions, and blessed the bread, the wine, the meal, the meat. A benediction also

¹ Num. xxxv. 51.

concluded these repasts, at which the table was a sort of altar.

The Pharisees, in order to be equal with their opponents, imitated these feasts. They instituted brotherhoods, practised ablutions before sitting down to table, and had the viands purified by the benediction pronounced over them. Any sort of viands served for these banquets, and every one was a priest on the occasion, for the table was open to all. It was at one of these gatherings of the brotherhood that the paschal lamb was eaten on the evening of the first day of the Passover, and this was unquestionably the origin of the Christian agapes.

It happened, sometimes, that a thousand Pharisees belonged to the same brotherhood. How could they all meet at the same table? To solve this problem, the houses were joined one to another by beams, so that the whole should form as it were one dwelling, and all the tables one gigantic table. This fiction was called "*ērūb*." We mention it here because there are two sections of the Mishnah fixing the rules of the "*ērūb*," and these are called "*Erūbin*."

We shall conclude this chapter by giving a brief summary of the various phases of the history of the Pharisees and Sadducees. Under the influence of Ezra and Nehemiah the party of the Chasidim was formed, and subsequently, after Alexander the Great, arose a party favourable to Greek ideas. Antiochus IV. provoked by his persecutions the rising of the Chasidim. They were victorious, and founded the dynasty of the Maccabees. For a time the partisans of Greek ideas were silenced, but the Asmoneans allowed themselves to be corrupted. The friends of the foreigner, who were called Sadducees, reappeared, and under John

Hyrcanus acquired great influence. The Chasidim then separated into two groups—the Essenes, mystical and contemplative; the Pharisees, political and militant. The struggle for predominance between the Pharisees and Sadducees was prolonged with alternations of success and failure, until the overthrow of the last of the Asmoneans, and the accession of Herod the Great. Under his reign, the Pharisees became the permanent leaders of the religious life of the people.

It was then the Sadducees divided into two parties. Some who were known as Herodians became the sycophants of the Herods, but the majority preserved their independence. Even these, however, became more and more formalists—estranged from the life of the nation. The Pharisees, on their side, divided into a right and left—the Hillelites and Shammaïtes. Their rivalries became very keen. The Shammaïtes, at first very popular, soon lost their religious influence. Those among them who concerned themselves only with politics, separated from the party of the Pharisees and formed the group of fanatics who urged the people to insurrection. Gamaliel and his school, on the other hand, cared less and less for politics. When war broke out, the two parties became completely estranged. The descendants of Hillel left the city by a stratagem in the midst of the siege, and thus saved the Jewish nationality, traditions, and monotheistic faith, carrying with them to Yabneh all of Judaism that remains to this day. As to the successors of Judas of Galilee, they acted like furious madmen, and, as represented by Simon ben Gioras and John of Gischala, ceased to have anything in common with true Pharisaism.

CHAPTER V.

THE PREACHING OF THE PHARISEES.—THE WORLD TO COME.

Expectation of the Messianic Era.—The World to Come.—Parables.—The Two Messiahs.—The Date of the Advent of Messiah.—The Vanishing of the Messianic Hope.—The Kingdom of God realized in the Observance of the Law.

WE shall supplement the details we have given in relation to the Pharisees by the quotation of some passages taken from their teaching concerning the world to come, as given in the Talmuds. It will not be necessary to explain here their conception of the future life, because we have already done this at length in an earlier work.¹ Our only object now is to give an idea of the character of the rabbinical teaching in the first century on this subject, by transcribing some of its aphorisms and parables.

The "looking for the consolation of Israel"² was the one ruling thought in all minds. Messiah was to be indeed a "consoler,"³ and His days "days of consolation." The name He was to bear was doubtful; it

¹ See "Les idées religieuses en Palestine, à l'époque de J. C.," chaps. VII. and VIII., "Le Messie et l'éternité."

² Luke ii. 25; "Chagigah," fol. 12, 2; "Maccoth," fol. 5, 2; "Cethubboth," fol. 67, 1; "Shebū'oth," fol. 34, 1.

³ Menachem the consoler; Jerus., "Beracoth," fol. 5, 1. See also John xiv. 11.

was to be either Shilōh or Yinnōm, or Chaninah,¹ or Menachem, and He was to be born at Bethlehem.²

The expectation of Messiah was visionary indeed. It was confused, capricious, fantastic, and at the same time precise and minute in detail, just like a dream. Jerusalem was to be all of gold, cypress, and cedar; the houses all built of precious stones. The Temple was to be the centre of the world. The kings of the earth were to fall down before the Jews, and there was to be a perpetual Sabbath-keeping, with eating and drinking. All these dreams arose out of a craving for compensation for the sufferings of the present, which craving was ever growing stronger in the breasts of the persecuted Jews. The world was utterly unjust. But the Jew believed in justice, in final restitution. He could not but look for some happiness to come. God, he said, would not have laid this burden of duty upon men without some compensation. Here we find the idea of merit giving a claim upon God—a powerful and deeply rooted idea in the minds of men.

All theological teaching came under two heads—*hă'ōlām hazzeh* (the present world), and *hă'ōlām habbā* (the world to come).

To reason about these two worlds, to set forth the one as the scene of all sorrows, and the other as the home of all bliss, was the function of the religious teacher. On this common background, every one painted his own picture. Some said, "Messiah will first raise those who sleep in the dust."³ Then the world will be devastated and laid waste for a thousand years, and then will come eternity."

The people looked forward with dread to the coming

Babyl., "Sanh.," fol. 98, 2. ² Jerus., "Beracoth," fol. 5, 1.

³ Midrash, "Tehillim," fol. 42, 1.

of the Messianic era. They were afraid of seeing the war of Gog and Magog, which the scribes predicted as its precursor.¹

Moreover, all looked for fearful calamities. Rabbi Eliezer ben Abena said: "When ye shall see nations rising up one against the other, then look for Messiah to follow, and ye may know that this is true by this token—that the same thing was done in the days of Abraham, for then the nations rose up against one another, and there came a Redeemer for Abraham. In the week of years in which the Son of David shall come, there will be in the first year abundance of rain upon one city and drought upon another. In the second year the arrows of famine will go abroad. In the third there will be a great famine, and men, women, and children will die, as well as the saints and the rich; and there will be a judgment of forgetfulness upon those who study the law. In the fourth year there will be abundance for some and barrenness for others. In the fifth year a great abundance; and they shall eat, drink, and rejoice, and the law shall be again held in honour, among those who teach it. In the sixth year voices will be heard.² In the seventh year wars will break out, and at the end of the seventh year the Son of David will appear."

We find the following very curious parables referring to the world to come, which remind us forcibly of the parable of Lazarus and the rich man in the Gospel:³ "There were two wicked men who were companions in this world. The one repented before his death, the other

¹ See Mark xiii. 7.

² That is to say, there will be rumours announcing the near advent of Messiah.

³ Luke xvi. 19 and foll.

did not. The one found himself in the assembly of the just, the other in that of the reprobate. The impenitent man saw the other, and said: 'Woe is me! There has been an accepting of persons here. This man and I stole together, we committed murder together, and now he is in the assembly of the righteous, and I am among the lost.' To whom it was answered: 'O thou most foolish of all men that live! thou wast vile, and thou wast left for three days after death and wast not laid in the tomb. The worm made its bed beneath thee, and the worm consumed thee. Thy companion was reasonable and repented. And thou also mightest have repented, but thou hast not done it.' And he said: 'Suffer me to come back, and I will repent.' To whom it was answered: 'O most foolish of men! dost thou not know that the world where thou art is like the Sabbath, and the world whence thou comest like the eve of the Sabbath? If thou dost not prepare anything on the eve of the Sabbath, what wilt thou eat on the Sabbath? Dost thou not know that the world whence thou comest is like the earth, and the world in which thou art is like the sea? If a man does not, while he is on land, provide something to eat, what will he eat when he is on the sea?' And then he gnashed his teeth and began to gnaw his own flesh."¹

"A good and a wicked man had both died. There was no funeral for the good man, but the wicked man had a funeral. Soon after some one saw in a dream the good man walking in a beautiful garden by pleasant fountains of water. But the tongue of the wicked man was dry and parched, and he tried to get to the bank of the river, but could not reach it."²

¹ Midrash, "Ruth," fol. 44, 2; Midrash, "Koheleth," fol. 86, 4.

² Jerus., "Chagigah," fol. 77, 4; see Luke xvi. 26.

We know that ἄδης among the Greeks and the *inferi* among the Latins included the abode of the blessed as well as that of the lost, but Acheron flowed between the two. The Jews had accepted, on this point, the whole pagan mythology. "How far," they asked, "is Gehenna from Paradise?" "A hand-breadth," was the reply. and Rabbi Yochanan said: "No, they are on a level, and men can see from one what goes on in the other; but there is a great gulf between them."¹

"In Paradise there are seven classes of the just, who see the face of the Lord. They are seated in the house of God, and go up to the mountain of God. Each class has its special habitation in Paradise.² In like manner there are seven habitations in Gehenna."

The expectation of Messiah was an article of faith which the Pharisees had inscribed in their liturgy. In the Shemoneh 'esrēh we read: "O Lord, cause the stem of David Thy servant to bud, and set up again his kingdom in our days." But the incoherence and vagueness of the ideas of Messiah were such that some expected two Messiahs. The first who should come of the tribe of Joseph, would die in battle without having seen the Divine work accomplished. This would be the suffering Messiah. The second, the Son of David, would be the final Deliverer, and would fulfil all the promises. He would be the triumphant Messiah.

When will be the day of His coming? After having gone on long calculating the day, and finding themselves always mistaken, the Pharisees had in the end given up the attempt, and we read in the Mishnah: "A plague be on those who give themselves up to Messianic calculations! For what comes of them? Messiah does not

¹ Midrash, "Kohelah," fol. 103, 2; see Luke xvi. 26.

² Luke xxiii. 43.

concern Himself to justify these fanciful reckonings. And then men begin to despair of His coming. Now, it is not lawful to abandon this hope, for it is written, 'Though He tarry, wait for Him' (Hab. ii. 3). Let it not be said, then, 'What use is there in hoping, if God withholds the fulfilment of our dreams of deliverance?' God does not withhold His salvation. He is only waiting the fit time to manifest His grace (Isa. i. 18). But if God is waiting and we are waiting, what hinders our salvation? Inexorable justice hinders; that is to say, our sin stands in the way. If Israel repents, it will be saved; otherwise not."¹ This curious passage shows what a complete change the Messianic hope of the Pharisees had undergone by the middle of the first century, when they separated from the extreme Left, from the fanatics who were about to make insurrection. The school of Hillel abandoned the dream of an earthly kingdom of God. In this respect the moderate Pharisees yielded at length to the influence of the Sadducees, who had never believed in it. Thus the Pharisees had begun to ask themselves, even before the destruction of the Temple, whether the realization of the kingdom of God ought not to be sought first of all in the observance of the law. The practice of the law finally becomes so engrossing a theme with them that it absorbs even the hope of Messiah; and in the end the Talmudist doctors abandon completely the wild Messianic dreams of their predecessors. Henceforward they speak of nothing but the Torah. The Pharisees who fled from Jerusalem during the siege and went to take refuge at Yabneh had utterly lost the Messianic faith of their fathers; for had they retained it in ever so small a degree, they would have said: "Let us stay, for now, in the hour of our

¹ Midrash, "Sanhedrim," 97, 98, 99; see 2 Pet. iii. 3 and foll.

deepest distress, the Deliverer, the *Deus ex machinâ*, will appear." But no, they do not say it, for they have lost all faith in Messiah's coming. The following parable gives us the final utterance of the Pharisaic school. On this subject, Rabbi Yeshu'a ben Levi one day asked the prophet Elijah:¹ "When will Messiah come?" "Ask Him Himself," replies the prophet. "But where can I find Him?" "Thou wilt find Him at the city gate, in the midst of the sick and suffering." Yeshu'a went to the place indicated, and there found Him who was one day to be Messiah. "When will my Lord come?" he asked. "This very day," was the reply. Yeshu'a afterwards met Elijah again, and complained to him bitterly: "Messiah has deceived me, saying, 'I will come to-day,' and He is not come." "No," replied the prophet, "He has not lied. What He meant to say was, 'I will come to-day if you obey the law of God.'"²

It is evident that the old Messianic hope had died out. It no longer had any place even in the hearts of the faithful. We are coming to the period of the composition of the Talmuds, which will quench any lingering sparks of faith, and truth, and life, in the souls of the sons of Israel. Mosaism has become a lifeless corpse, and the Pharisees proceed to embalm in order to preserve it. They wrest Scripture to make it fit their fine casuistry with all its puerile minutiae. The Judaism of revelation, the grand and noble heritage of ancient prophecy, is dead; its work is done; it will rise no more.

¹ The prophet Elijah, according to the popular belief, came back from time to time to the world to talk with the wise.

² Mishnah, "Sanhedrim," 98.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SYNAGOGUE.

Origin of Synagogues.—Their Object.—Their Number.—How Founded.—The Leaders of the Synagogue.—The Chazzân.—Description of the Building.—The Celebration of Worship.—Order of Service.—Jesus in the Synagogue of Nazareth.—Monday and Thursday Meetings.—The Modern Synagogue.—The First Christian Assemblies.

EVERY city and village possessed one or more houses set apart for public meetings, for the reading of the law, and for prayer. The Hebrew name was *Beth-hacceseth*,¹ house of meeting; in Aramaic, *Beth-Cenishta*. It was also called *Beth-hat-tephillah* (house of prayers). The Greek translation, *συναγωγή*, is used throughout the New Testament. Josephus only employs this word three times.²

In an edict of Augustus, of which Josephus gives us the text,³ occurs the word *σαββατεῖον*. Philo used *συναγώριον*,⁴ *προσευκτήριον*,⁵ and *προσευχή*,⁶ but this last word does not stand so much for the synagogue, properly speaking, as for the meetings in the open air held by the Jews of the dispersion, outside the towns

¹ Talm. "Beracoth," VII. 3, to the end. In the plural *Bâtē Kenesiyyôth*. We find also *Beth-Va'ad*, "Sotah," IX. 15, and *Mô'adē-êl*, holy convocation.

² "Ant. Jud.," XIX. 6, § 3; "B.J.," II. 14, § 4-5; and VII. 3, § 3.

³ "Ant. Jud.," XVI. 6, § 2. ⁴ "Leg. ad Caïum," § 40.

⁵ "Vita Mosis." ⁶ "In Flaccum," § 6. See also *Vita*, § 54.

and near a river or stream. There they performed the ablutions and purifications commanded by the law.¹

Tradition ascribed to Ezra the institution of these "assemblies," and this is no doubt correct. This great man realized the absolute necessity of periodical gatherings in which the people might hear the law read and explained. They needed to be educated nationally and religiously, and to be taught their faith and duty to God. But some doctors considered this date too recent, and affirmed that the first synagogue was built during the exile. The captives who had accompanied King Jehoiachin built, we are told, a house of prayer in the foreign land with stones brought from Palestine.² Josephus goes further and ascribes the origin of the synagogues to Moses. The Targums even speak of synagogues of the patriarchs.³ We know that the Jews had a tendency to trace back everything to Moses and the patriarchs. But Ezra was the real founder of the houses of prayer, and in Psalm lxxxiv. 10, the allusion is to the synagogues, for it was composed in the time of the Maccabees.

Ezra in establishing the synagogues did a work of genius. No institution has done more to give to the religion of Moses the vitality which it possesses even now. It enabled Mosaism to live independently of the Temple and its ceremonial. With the MS. of the law, any Jew, wherever he might be, could found a synagogue. He carried his religion with him to the ends

¹ Epiphanius, "Hæres.," 80, 1, describes to us the *προσευχή* of the Samaritans, which he had seen at Sichem. The synagogue at Philippi is described Acts xiii. 14. See also "Ant. Jud.," XIV. 10, § 23.

² "Megillah," fol. 28 a.

³ Targ. Onkelos on Gen. xxv. 27; Deut. xxxii. 10. Targ. Yonathan, on Isa. i. 3, etc.

of the earth. Judaism was no longer dependent on Jerusalem and the sacrifices for its maintenance. Wherever a few faithful souls were gathered together to read the Torah, there was Judaism.

The synagogue must not be confounded with a church. It is a lay institution, in which the priest has no official priority. The chief man in the synagogue is the doctor that is the man competent to teach.

The Pharisees, the true successors of Ezra, much favoured the establishment of "houses of prayer" in opposition to the priesthood and the Sadducees. These could not live apart from the Temple. They were lost in its downfall in the year 70. But the Pharisees continued, because wherever they went, they opened synagogues and instituted meetings for reading and public prayer.

The number of these synagogues was considerable in the first century. The city of Jerusalem alone had from 460 to 480.¹ They might almost be said to touch one another. There were several in every street.² Large families often had synagogues of their own. Thus in the East to-day, we find a number of mosques quite out of proportion to the population, many of them being family mosques. Sometimes a corporation founded a synagogue. We know that the coppersmiths in Jerusalem had established one.

Meetings were held in these synagogues not only on the Sabbath day, but also on the Monday and Thursday. They were, moreover, open three times a day for prayer.³

¹ See chapter on Jerusalem, Book I. ch. ii.

² The Acts of the Apostles names some of them: "The synagogue of the Greeks, of the Libertines, of the Jews of Cyrene, of Alexandria, of Cilicia and Asia" (ch. vi. 9).

³ Talm. Jerus., "Beracoth," VIII. 3.

The morning service was called *Shacarith*, the afternoon *Minchah*,¹ the evening 'Arbith.²

The hour of morning prayer was largely attended. Very early in the morning, before the heat of the day, in town and village, women, devout Pharisees, and doctors of the law might be seen making their way to the synagogue with their Tephillin on their arms. They were going to repeat their morning prayers, leaving the Sadducean priests to offer alone in the Temple the daily sacrifice of a lamb.

In the Temple there was no instruction given; nothing was learnt. There was no preaching, and all knew beforehand the forms of benediction which the priests would repeat. Was it not better to go to the synagogue and learn something? Was there not more true edification to be found in the study of the law, than in the bare contemplation of a sacrifice?³

The primary object of the synagogue was instruction. The doctors fixed ten as the lowest number necessary to set up a synagogue service.⁴ These formed what they called *minyān* (the number), a sort of representative body of the spiritual Israel. Any one man could build the house, or choose some place to be set apart as a synagogue. The Talmuds say: "If any one builds a house and then consecrates it as a synagogue, it is of the nature of a synagogue."⁵ Again we read: "Wherever a house is built to be used for prayers at the hour of prayer, there is a synagogue."⁶

The Israelite community (Kehillah) assumed great

¹ Acts iii.

² "Megillah," 2 a.

³ Διδάσκειν says the New Testament, Matt. iv. 23; Mark i. 21; vi. 2. See also "Contr. Apion," II. § 17.

⁴ "Megillah," ch. i, hal. 3.

⁵ Lightfoot on Luke vii. 5.

⁶ "Sanh.," I. 6.

importance as soon as the minyān was formed among them. Any act of worship might be celebrated—circumcision, marriage, the funeral service. One of the ten members who founded the synagogue took charge of it; this was the more readily done because the ceremonial was rather of a civil than of a religious character.¹ The Pharisees, foreseeing the possible downfall of the nation and of the Temple, had made preparation for the continuation of Judaism, even in the event of dispersion over the whole world. St. Paul found communities of Jews wherever he went. They helped mightily in the spread of Christianity. It was to them the apostle addressed himself in the first instance, and it was upon the model of the *Kehillah* that he everywhere founded his Churches, his ἐκκλησίας. The organization was the same; the service was celebrated in the same manner. The elders of the first Christian communities were exactly similar to the pious founders of the synagogues. All were priests, all equal, and all chosen by the people. There was not, as yet, any central power; and St. Paul, whose mind had been imbued from childhood with the ideas of the Pharisees, was the originator of that great system of religious societies which was by-and-by to overthrow the Empire itself.

Among the ten members who founded the synagogue, three performed the chief functions, and were called the rulers, ἀρχισυναγώγαι.² They settled all differences among the members, administered the finances, decided on the admission of proselytes, etc.³ They had all the

¹ We have observed (Book I, ch. viii.) that marriages were celebrated in the first century without any religious service. It was not till much later that the nuptial benediction now in use was introduced into the synagogue.

² Acts xiii. 15; Mark v. 22.

³ "Sanh.," i, 2.

responsibility of the work, and particularly of the religious services. One presided and was the ruler, *par excellence*, "*Rōsh hac-ceneseth*."¹ Jairus was the ruler of the important synagogue of Capernaum ; but it must be borne in mind that this presidency gave no official authority. The ruler was only *primus inter pares*, and the assembly of the elders in the primitive Church was formed upon this model.

The three leaders had under their immediate orders, a very important personage called the *Chazzān* (ὑπηρέτης) in the New Testament.² This was a sort of servant and sacristan all in one, to whom was entrusted the whole material part of the service. When schools for children were founded in Palestine, the *Chazzān* was made to conduct those in which there were not more than twenty-five scholars.³ He also had to administer the punishment when the local Sanhedrim sentenced any one to the bastinado.

The arrangement of the synagogue was very simple. The building consisted of a square hall, larger or smaller as the case might be. In the large towns, the synagogues had in the interior, rows of pillars, usually to the number of four. Outside, a portico of the Greek order⁴ indicated that it was not an ordinary house. Inside, upon an elevated platform, on which sat the scribes, was

¹ "Yoma," 7, 1 ; "Sotah," 7, 7, 8 ; Mark v. 35, 36, 38 ; Luke viii. 49 ; xiii. 14 ; Acts xviii. 8, 17 ; Matt. ix. 18.

² Luke iv. 20.

³ Mishnah, "Shabbath," I. 3. Just as in many Catholic and Protestant churches, the schoolmaster performs on Sunday the duties of precentor (see Book I. ch. vii. : On The Instruction of Children).

⁴ The well-preserved ruins of several synagogues in Galilee have Greek porticoes. Those of Tell Hum (Capernaum) are, unhappily, not so old as the first century.

the principal furniture, the sacred chest (*Tēbāh*),¹ the front of which was turned towards Jerusalem, and within which the manuscripts were kept—those of the law (*Torah*), and of the other sacred books (*Seapharin*).² These were no doubt the manuscripts of the prophets and Psalms, the Book of Daniel, the five scrolls (*Megilloth*), that is to say, the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, and some others. They were wrapt in a linen cloth,³ and kept in a chest.⁴ Before this chest hung a curtain in imitation of the veil of the Temple. The hall was furnished with seats, and at the further end, upon the platform, was a sort of pulpit.⁵ On the floor mint was sprinkled to perfume and purify the air.⁶ The foremost places were paid for, and much sought after.⁷ The doctors of the

¹ "Megillah," III. 1; "Ta'anith," II. 1.

² "Megillah," III. 1; "Ta'anith," II. 1. ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "Shabbath," XVI. 1. ⁵ Talmud. Babyl., "Succah," 51 b.

⁶ Lightfoot, "Horæ Hebraicæ," etc., p. 423. To complete the furniture of the synagogue, we may notice also the lamp which hung from the roof, and burned day and night ("Terumoth," XI. 10), an immemorial custom in all religions. Primeval man, when he discovered fire, attached to it a sacred character. It was difficult to light; to keep it burning was, therefore, a duty which acquired a religious significance. The first altar of humanity was the family hearth, where the father cherished the life-giving fire. Subsequently, the Roman Vestals fed the sacred flame. In the Temple at Jerusalem and the synagogues it was essential that the lamp should never fail to burn, and in like manner every Catholic church has its light which is never quenched. Lastly, we observe that in the synagogue, in the first century, trumpets (*shopharoth*) were in use. The Chazzān used one to proclaim from the housetop the Sabbath, the new year, the new moon, the fast days ("Ta'anith," III. 8). Perhaps they served also to call attention to the exceptionally large alms of some formalist devotee (Matt. vi. 2; "Ta'anith," fol. 8 b).

⁷ Matt. xxiii. 6.

law, the Pharisees, the important personages in the community, were careful to occupy them in good time. They were the more conspicuous because they faced the people and looked down on them. The crowd of faithful Jews came next, and the proselytes remained at the gate without. As the synagogue was intended to take the place of the Temple, there was a tendency to set apart certain portions as more sacred than others. The place of the poor and of the Gentiles was near the door, and answered to the Court of the Gentiles. At the other end of the building, the elevated platform represented the Court of the Priests in the sanctuary. It is probable also that the men were separated from the women as in the Temple. Christianity, from its origin, was careful to avoid these distinctions, and to emphasize in the churches the equality of all believers.

The Sabbath service was performed by seven persons chosen by the president, whose names were called aloud by the Chazzān. This number, seven, was not insisted upon in the week services.

If, by chance, there was a priest in the assembly, he was by courtesy called upon first to speak. The Levites followed, then the lay members. These seven persons, who were almost always the same in small places, are constantly spoken of in the Talmuds as "the seven men of property in the city." The order of service was certainly fixed and invariable in the time of Christ. The supreme moment of the service was that of the reading of the law, for the great end of meeting together was to hear and study the law.² Prayer preceded this exercise, and the reading of a passage chosen from the prophets, followed by the benediction, closed the service.

¹ James ii. 2, and foll.

² Acts xv. 21; "Contr. Ap.," II. 17.

In the opening prayer there were several distinct portions. It began with the recitation of the *Shema*.¹ Then came the Shemoneh 'esrēh, "the eighteen *Beracoth* or blessings."² During this solemn recitation, the people remained standing,³ with their faces turned towards Jerusalem and the Holy Place.⁴ The one who recited was called the *Shelīach qibbūr*. He stood before the chest containing the manuscripts.⁵

Any member of the assembly could be called upon by the president to perform this important duty. Minors alone were excepted,⁶ and Christ may have very likely taken His turn in these introductory prayers, both at Nazareth and at Capernaum. The people responded with a loud Amen at the close of each prayer.⁷

The reading of the law followed. The Chazzān took the sacred scroll out of the chest, removed its case, and placed it before the first reader. The seven members who had been chosen, rose,⁸ and read in turn at least three verses each. The first reader before beginning used a short formula of benediction which he also repeated at the end.⁹ The *Torah* was divided into 153 *Sedarim* or sections, called also *Parshiyyoth*. In three years the whole was read through. Subsequently these sections were made three times as long, and the whole

¹ This name was given (as we shall explain in ch. x., in speaking of prayer) to three passages of the law: Deut. vi. 4-9; xi. 13-21; Num. xv. 37-41.

² See ch. x.

³ Matt. vi. 5; Mark xi. 25; Luke xxiii. 11; "Beracoth," V. 1.

⁴ "Beracoth," IV. 5, 6.

⁵ *Ibid.* V. 3, 4.

⁶ "Megillah," IV. 6.

⁷ "Ta'anith," II. 5; 1 Cor. xiv. 16; Neh. v. 13; viii. 6. See also Deut. xxvii. 15; Num. v. 22.

⁸ ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι (Luke iv. 16). "Megillah," 3.

⁹ "Megillah," IV. 2.

law was read through in one year. This was the practice at Babylon, where they had the fifty-four *Parshiyoth*, or present divisions of the Hebrew Bible, but it was not yet adopted in Palestine in the first century, and the portion read each Sabbath was about fifty verses. The Chazzān remained all the time close to the reader, and watched that he made no mistake and read nothing unsuitable for a general audience. Each verse, as it was read in the sacred tongue, was immediately translated into Aramaic; even minors might translate. To the reading and its translation was always added a commentary (*Midrash*),¹ a sort of homily to which great importance came to be attached in the Christian Churches, and which presently developed into the sermon. Thus the Targum gave birth to preaching, which is therefore essentially a creation of the Pharisees. From a paraphrased explanation of the text, they passed little by little to a freer treatment of it and to edifying exhortation. In the time of Christ, this mode of treating the lesson was very general.

These prelections were not given in the synagogue only, but in the open air also. The rabbis were accustomed to harangue the people. "Wherever there is preaching there is a crowd," said the Mishnah.² When a preacher was present in the meeting, he had the offer of speaking. He was called Darshān. There were some who, like Christ, went about preaching.

The reading of the law being over, the one who had recited the opening prayer read a portion from one of the

¹ This "Midrash" was always given (Matt. iv. 23 and foll., Mark i. 21). It was delivered sitting (Luke iv. 20). It varied in length; some passages were dwelt upon at large, others were passed over cursorily as not suited for a mixed assembly.

² "Beracoth," VI.

prophets.¹ This was called the *haphtarah* (closing lesson) because it completed the service. The reader, who was called *maḥṣitir*, was chosen by the head of the synagogue. He read three verses in succession, and then translated them. Christ one day read one of these closing lessons in the synagogue at Nazareth.² It is possible, however, that He may have chosen the passage Himself. We notice that it consists of only two verses. This was allowable, because He proposed to make some comment on it.

The final benediction was then pronounced, and the assembly broke up. This was the regular order of the synagogue service: the Shema'; the Shemoneh 'esrēh; the reading of the text of the law (the portion for the day); oral translation into Aramaic, the commentary called Midrash; the reading of the prophets; oral translation into Aramaic; the benediction.

It is possible that the chanting of the Psalms also formed part of this service, for this collection had become the hymn book of the synagogue. Lastly, three deacons were entrusted with the care of the poor. Two of them made the collection. The third helped in the distribution. Gifts in kind were accepted as well as money.³

The synagogues were open, as we have said, three times a day for prayer. On Monday and Thursday, the market days and days for hearing cases tried (the second and fifth day of the week), there were special

¹ The passages Luke iv. 17, Acts xiii. 15, are conclusive proofs that this custom prevailed in the first century. This reading of the prophets was only given on the Sabbath, not in the week services or on feast days ("Megillah," IV. 1-5)

² Luke iv. 16 and foll.

³ Jerus., "Peah," fol. 21, 1.

meetings in the synagogue. The country people flocked in to the town or village, and the opportunity was used for a reading of the law. This reading was simply added to the morning prayer. Three members of the council shared it between them.¹ The Talmuds trace the institution of these supplementary services back as far as Ezra.²

The synagogues were much frequented. All the Jews, without exception, went to them regularly, and to be put out of the synagogue was the greatest punishment.³ All goods were confiscated in such a case. There were twenty-four offences which entailed excommunication. One of them, added no doubt long after the introduction of Christianity, is described as follows: "He who confesses that Jesus is the Christ."

The three rulers of the synagogue judged all criminal causes,⁴ and one of the penalties most commonly inflicted was the bastinado. This was not regarded as the degrading punishment it has always been thought in the West. The scourging was performed by the Chazzān, either in the synagogue itself or in the open air. St. Paul tells us that he endured it five times.⁵

How does the modern synagogue compare with that of old times? We reply: it is like and yet unlike. The tendency to imitate the Temple, which always showed itself, became much more largely developed

¹ "Megillah," III. 6; IV. 1.

² Jerus., "Megillah," fol. 75, 1; Babyl., "Baba Kamma," fol. 82, 1.

³ Talm. Jerus., "Mo'ed Katan," 3, 1; Ezra x. 8; John ix. 34; xii. 42, 43. Comp. xix. 38.

⁴ "Sanh.," cap. I. halac. 2. Scourging was inflicted by the triumvirs.

⁵ 2 Cor. xi. 24. See for further details, Book I. ch. v.: Administration of Justice.

after the destruction of the sanctuary, and the pompous ceremonial of the religious service in modern synagogues gives no idea of the ancient simple worship as it was observed in the time of Christ. The resemblances are all superficial. The most striking feature, and that which impresses the Christian most painfully on entering the synagogue, is the complete absence of anything like devotion. One might imagine one's self on the market.

The worship of the early Christians was copied, as we have said, from the synagogue service; and it is probable that at first there was not much more of a devotional character about their worship than about that of the Jews.¹ The chief difference between the two services was the celebration of the Lord's Supper among the Christians, and even the institution of this rite was certainly made more easy by the Pharisees' custom of holding agapes of which we have spoken. But the eucharistic meal, celebrated solemnly as a part of worship, contained in germ all its future developments. In the second century a hierarchy was organised, the clergy were set apart and separated from the laity, the choir came to be distinguished from the nave in the house of prayer, and the eucharistic meal soon became a sacrifice. A few steps more in advance and we have the mass.

The Protestants, in suppressing these developments of Christian worship, endeavoured to restore it to what they called "its primitive purity." But to what period in the first century did they go back? The transition from the synagogue to the church was insensible. When St. Paul took his journeys through the Empire, the assemblies of the Corinthian community strongly resembled those of the most unruly synagogues. The

¹ I Cor. x. xi.

Jewish element had brought in with it its traditional usages, its disputatious and disorderly habits. It is certain, on the other hand, that after the death of the Apostles, when a bond of union was formed between the various Churches, there came a great calm. The Lord's Supper was regarded with profound respect, and the priest began to have a great influence over the laity.

To us, then, it appears that this is the period in which to seek the type of true Christian worship. The assemblies of the second and third centuries as the Fathers of that time¹ describe them correspond very closely with what the service of the Church ought to be. It is not the Catholic worship of later times. The Lord's Supper is celebrated as Jesus had instituted it. It is not yet the sacrifice of Christ repeated, but neither is it the bald service of Calvinism and Protestant puritanism. The liturgy is simple but sufficient. The people take part in the service. The reading of Holy Scripture occupies the place due to it. The sermon is regarded as important, but is not too lengthy and is not made too prominent. In short, with a few modifications of detail, it seems to us that in imitating the service of the second and third centuries, the Protestants of our day would best realise the reforms in their ritual which are urgently demanded by the times.

¹ See "Christian Life and Practice in the Early Church," by E. de Pressensé, D.D., ch. iv.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SABBATH.

Its Institution.—When it Commenced.—The Light of the Sabbath
—The Thirty-nine Forbidden Works.—Formal Prohibitions.—
The Councils.—Sabbath Observances Introduced by the Phari-
sees.—How the Sabbath Closed.

THE name Sabbath, which in Hebrew signifies rest, was given to the seventh day of the week, corresponding to our Saturday. The law enjoined Sabbath rest. "In it thou shalt do no manner of work," Moses had said; and this text was an inexhaustible source of dissension, and the occasion of the most minute Pharisaic regulations. There are certain things, it was said, which it must be lawful to do, such as getting up, walking, eating. Then comes the question, What is lawful? and what is forbidden? Where does the violation of the law begin? This problem was the more important because the Jews traced the institution of the Sabbath back further than Moses. "Circumcision and the Sabbath were appointed before the law was given," observed Rabbi Judah.¹

The Israelites were delivered from Egypt, it was said again, because they had observed circumcision and the Sabbath day. The institution of the Sabbath dated as far back as the Creation.

¹ Midrash, "Tehillim," fol. 13, 3.

"The first hymn of humanity was a Sabbath hymn, and it was sung by Adam at the beginning of the seventh day after his sin had been pardoned."¹ This psalm is said to have been preserved. It is the 92nd.² Adam was created, we are told, on the eve of the Sabbath, on the Friday, and when the Sabbath began he had already sinned.³ The Targum of the 92nd Psalm contains the following passage: "What did God create on the first day? The heaven and the earth. What on the second? and so on. And on the seventh? The Sabbath. God did not create this day for common works, like the other days of the week; therefore it was not said, There was evening and there was morning, the seventh day."

It was important to know at what exact time on the Friday evening the Sabbath began. It began with the night, it was said. But when is it night? Does one star appear? It is still Friday. Two stars? It is between the two days. Three stars? The night has come, and the Sabbath is begun.⁴

During this brief time of uncertainty between the Friday and the Saturday, the Chazzān ascended the terraced roof of one of the houses in the village, and six times blew that trumpet of which we have already spoken,

¹ Targum, "Shir hashshirim."

² The Targum of the 92nd Psalm runs thus: "Psalm composed by Adam on the Sabbath."

³ Babyl., "Sanhedr.," fol. 38, 1.

⁴ "Beracoth," fol. 2, 2. The time which elapses between the setting of the sun and the time when the three stars appear is called *Intra soles*. Did this time belong to the day which was closing or to the night which was beginning? Maimonides (Mishnēh Torah, "Shabbath"), raises this grave question, but does not dare to answer it.

and which was kept in the chest in the synagogue.¹ At the first blast, the labours in the field ceased; at the second, those in the town; at the third, the Sabbath lamp was lighted.² We do not know for what purpose the Chazzān blew the last three blasts. When Christ said in His teaching, "What ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon the housetops,"³ He was alluding at once to the habit of the scribes of murmuring in the ear of their disciples their most important precepts, and to the practice of the Chazzān who made proclamations with the sound of a trumpet from the roofs of the houses. The houses were very low, and the roofs were always in terraces. It was therefore easy to speak from the roof, as from a pulpit, to the assembled crowd.⁴

The first duty to be fulfilled was, as we have just said, to light the Sabbath lamp. "Men and women are bound to set a light in their houses on the eve of the Sabbath."⁵ The Friday evening was called "the light;" and in the New Testament we read: "The Sabbath began to dawn" (shine).⁶ The food needed for the Sabbath was prepared on the Friday, and this day was called the preparation (*παρασκευή*). The lamp being lighted, they sat down to table and took a meal of which wine and spices formed part. No one ate the next morning (Saturday) before morning prayers in the synagogue. This explains how Christ's disciples came to be so hungry one Sabbath day.⁷ It was to the synagogue

¹ Or in the house of the Chazzān. See "Shabbath," fol. 35 b.

² Lightfoot, "Horæ," pp. 333, 334.

³ Matt. x. 27.

⁴ Babyl., "Shabbath," fol. 35, 2.

⁵ Maimon., *Mishnēh Torah*, "Shabbath," ch. 5.

⁶ Luke xxiii. 54 : *σάββατον ἐπέφωσκε*. It is still the evening of the day of the crucifixion.

⁷ Matt. xii. 2 and parall.

that they repaired first of all. We know that the first Christians also celebrated their worship at sunrise.¹

Let us try to give some idea of the incredible minuteness with which the Sabbath observance was regulated by the doctors of the law. One whole treatise of the Mishnah ("Shabbath") is devoted to this subject. It was necessary, as we said just now, to know what was and what was not forbidden. The ordinances of the Pentateuch had been carefully studied and commented upon.² The science of the doctors of the law consisted in their exact knowledge of its permissions and prohibitions. It was decided that thirty-nine kinds of work were prohibited. They are enumerated as follows in the tract "Shabbath":³ sowing, ploughing, reaping, binding sheaves, thrashing, winnowing, cleaning the grain, grinding, sifting, kneading, cooking, shearing wool, bleaching, carding, dyeing or spinning it, weaving cloth, taking two stitches, twisting two threads, untangling two threads, making a knot, untying a knot, sewing two stitches, making a rent which would take at least two stitches to mend; taking venison—a kid, for example; killing it, skinning it, salting it, preparing the skin, scraping off the hair, cutting it in pieces; writing two letters of the alphabet, scratching out in order to write two letters of the alphabet; building, pulling down buildings; putting out a fire, kindling a fire; hammering, carrying a thing from one place to another.

Nor was this all. Each one of these prohibitions required a number of explanations. Let us give some examples. The prohibition to make or unmake a knot

¹ "*Orto Sole*," says Pliny in his letter to Trajan; Pliny the Younger, "*Ep.*," Book x.; Correspondence with Trajan, Letter 97.

² Exod. xx. 8-11; xxiii. 12; xxxi. 12-17; xxxiv. 21; xxxv. 1-3; Deut. v. 12-15.

³ "Shabbath," VII. 2. . .

seemed very vague. What knots were referred to? The rabbis replied in all seriousness: "It would be sinful to make or loose a camel-driver's or boatman's knot."¹ Rabbi Meir said: "If a knot can be undone with one hand, that is innocent. And there are certain kinds of knots which it is lawful to make. A woman may tie the strings of her dress, the ribbons of her bonnet, or her girdle; it is lawful to tie shoes or sandals; leather bottles containing wine and oil may be closed, and so may a vessel containing meal."²

Again, it was forbidden to write two letters of the alphabet; but if they were written in different languages, or with ink of different colours, or one with the right hand and one with the left, was guilt incurred and the law broken? "Yes," said the rabbis, who had anticipated all these cases. "He who inscribes two characters on two panels of a wall forming an angle, in such a way that both can be read together, is guilty; but if the two letters be written in the dust of the road, or with fruit juice, or sand,—in a word, with any substance easy to remove,—there is no guilt. If the two letters are placed one above another, or if, meaning to write *Cheth* once, you write *Zayin* twice; or, again, if you write upon two leaves of a book, so that the two letters cannot be read together, you are innocent."

Some cases remained doubtful. Rabbi Gamaliel held that he was guilty who, forgetting himself, wrote the two characters in the manner allowed, but twice over, once in the morning and once in the evening. The other doctors, for the most part, held that he was innocent.³

The prohibition against lighting a fire was in the Pentateuch.⁴ This was supplemented, and it was further

¹ "Shabbath," XV. 1, 2.

² *Ibid.*

"Shabbath," XII. 3-6.

⁴ Exod. xxxv. 3.

made unlawful to put out a fire. "But if a Gentile offers to put out a conflagration on the Sabbath, nothing is to be said to him—neither 'Put it out,' nor 'Do not put it out.' It was not incumbent to compel him to rest."¹

This prohibition to put out a fire extended to lamps and torches; but here again distinctions were drawn. "If any one puts out a light from fear of pagans, robbers, or of evil spirits, or because of sickness, that the invalid may be able to sleep, he is innocent; but if he does it to economise the oil or the wick, or in order not to spoil his lamp, he is guilty. A plate may be put under the lamp to receive the sparks; but it is not lawful to put water in the plate; that would be quenching the sparks and breaking the law."²

The last of the thirty-nine prohibitions was capable of much expansion. It was forbidden to carry anything from one place to another. Of what size was the thing referred to? The rabbis replied that the law was broken "if as much food was carried as would be equal in size to a dried fig; as much milk as would make a mouthful; as much oil as would anoint the little finger; as much water as would moisten the eyes; as much parchment as it would take to write the smallest portion of the Tephillin, that is to say, '*Shema Yisraël*;' as much ink as it would take to write two letters of the alphabet, etc., etc." It was forbidden to carry two articles of dress not forming part of the same garment.

According to Rabbi Meir, a cripple might go out with his wooden leg. Rabbi Josē, on the contrary, forbade this.³ In an incendiary fire it was lawful to save the manuscripts of the law and the prophets and the chest which contained them, and the Tephillin and their case.

¹ "Shabbath," XVI. 6. ² *Ibid.*, III. 6 to end.

³ "Shabbath," VI. 8.

If the fire lasted over Friday evening, it was lawful to rescue enough food to make three meals on the morrow; if it happened on the Saturday morning, it was only lawful to rescue enough for two meals, and only enough for one if it broke out on the Saturday afternoon.¹

Beside these formal regulations there were other counsels and recommendations in view of a possible violation of the law. Thus a tailor was recommended not to go out to work on the Friday towards evening, lest he might forget himself and be surprised by the beginning of the Sabbath. It was better also not to read by lamplight, or do anything requiring much light, lest any one might forget himself, and be tempted to refill the lamp, and so break the commandment which forbids kindling any fire.²

Beside the thirty-nine forbidden works there were certain other prohibitions applying both to the Sabbath and to feast days; on the latter, however, cessation from work was less rigorously insisted upon.

It was not lawful to climb a tree or get on an animal's back, to swim, dance, hold a consultation, set apart the tithe, or go more than two thousand paces or about six furlongs from the place where a man happened to be when the Sabbath began. A distance of two thousand paces was called "a Sabbath day's journey"³ (*"Techūm hashshabbath"*).

Among the Pharisees, the Shammaïtes were rigid observers of the Sabbath. They did not permit the slightest infraction of the established rules; they even strained them. They expressly forbade the instruction of children, the care of the sick, the succour of the

¹ "Shabbath," XVI. 1-3.

² *Ibid.*, I. 3.

³ Acts i. 12; Exod. xvi. 29.

afflicted, and almsgiving.¹ With them no doubt originated the saying that intermittent springs observed the Sabbath.² The Pharisees who troubled Jesus on the subject of the Sabbath were no doubt Shammaïtes. It was they who were perpetually finding fault with Him for healing on the Sabbath day, and who forbade His disciples to pluck the ears of corn;³ a thing which on other days was freely allowed.⁴ But the Shammaïtes had adversaries in their own party. The Hillelites seem to have perceived the childishness of some of the Sabbath regulations. Some of them were very skilful in evading them, and breaking them in such a way as not to be observed. Thus, in order to extend the Sabbath day's journey over four thousand paces instead of two, they would carry food on the Friday two thousand paces from where they lived. They thus made a fictitious home, from which they could start off for another two thousand paces in any direction, thus going double the distance from their real home.

The prohibition to carry anything from one place to another, or from one house to another, was very subtly evaded by the Pharisees. Establishing intercommunication between the courts of the various houses, they declared that they formed altogether only one and the same court, and that consequently they were all one house; or they joined the houses together by beams, and called them all one house. The Sadducees, who were always conservative, were scandalized at these evasions.

It was agreed, moreover, among the Pharisees that where life was in danger, a higher law intervened, and

¹ "Shabbath," 12 *a*.

² "B. J.," VII. 5, § 1; Pliny, "Hist. Nat.," XXXI. 18.

³ Matt. xii. 2; Mark ii. 24; Luke vi. 2. ⁴ Deut. xxiii. 25.

the violation of the Sabbath was justified.¹ This decision was taken in the time of the Maccabees. During the insurrection, some of the faithful, being surprised by the enemy on the Sabbath day, had let themselves be massacred to the last man rather than draw sword in their own defence.² This respect for the day appeared certainly exaggerated, the more since the cause to be defended was the cause of God; and it was decided that in future the sword might be drawn in self-defence even on the Sabbath day. But in time of peace it was not lawful to bear arms, and the Romans were obliged to exonerate the Jews from military service, the enforced Sabbath rest and Roman discipline proving two utterly incompatible things.³

The tending of the sick on the Sabbath seems to have been strictly forbidden in the first century.⁴ The sick were only brought to Jesus on the Sabbath after the sun was set. Nevertheless, feelings of humanity seem, among the Hillelite Pharisees, to have often outweighed the unintelligent narrowness of their adversaries the Shammaïtes. Since, in cases where life was imperilled, the violation of the Sabbath was permitted, it must be lawful to assist a woman in labour.⁵ If a building falls upon any one, and it is not certain whether or not he is buried in the ruins, or whether he is an Israelite or not, then help must be carried to him on the Sabbath day. If he is still alive, let him be lifted out and taken care of. If he is dead, let the body be

¹ "Yoma," VIII. 6.

² 1 Macc. ii. 34-38; "Ant. Jud.," XII. 6, § 2.

³ "Ant. Jud.," XIV. 10, § 14, 16, 18.

⁴ Matt. xii. 9, 10; Mark iii. 1 and 5; Luke vi. 6-10; xiii. 10-17; xiv. 1-6; John v. 1-16; ix. 14-16.

⁵ "Shabbath," XVIII. 3.

left till the Sabbath is over.¹ It is probable that these questions of succour to the wounded, healing of the sick, and general acts of humanity performed on the Sabbath day, were much discussed in the time of Christ. The Mishnah gives permission for any one with a sore throat to gargle on the Sabbath day;² but it does not allow the setting of a broken limb, or the pouring of cold water upon a limb out of joint. There was more consideration for animals, and it was not forbidden to care for the cattle and lead them to water on the Sabbath day.³ A man was allowed to lead his camel by a rope and his horse by the halter.⁴ "And not only," say the Talmuds further, "is it not forbidden to lead a beast to water on the Sabbath day, but water may be drawn for it; only the water must on no account be carried. It must be put before the animal, and he must come to it and drink himself." One can understand the holy indignation with which Christ exclaims: "Doth not every one of you loose his ox or his ass from the stall and lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman to be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath day?"⁵

Circumcision was permitted,⁶ because it was, like the Sabbath, older than the Mosaic law, and the rite was too important for anything to be allowed to stand in the way of its performance on the eighth day after birth. If, however, it was possible to circumcise on the eve of the Sabbath, it was better. As a general rule, everything that could be done on the Sabbath eve was forbidden on the Sabbath.⁷

¹ "Yoma," VIII. 7.

² Luke xiii. 15.

³ Luke xiii. 15 and foll.

⁷ "Shabbath," XIX. 1-5.

² *Ibid.*, VIII. 6.

⁴ "Shabbath," ch. V. hal. 1.

⁶ John vii. 23.

The service of the Temple was, of course, not interrupted on the Saturday. Nothing could be allowed to interfere with the offering of the daily sacrifice of the lamb, and within the sacred precincts many works might be performed which were forbidden to outsiders.¹

Tradition has handed down to us one saying of the liberal Pharisees in relation to the Sabbath which reminds us forcibly of Christ's words, "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath."² They said, "The Sabbath was given to thee; thou wast not given to the Sabbath."³ Only we cannot help asking, Is not this saying probably later than that of Christ, and suggested by it?

After the synagogue service, a meal was taken. Then the doctors, scribes, and rabbis gathered together in the school-house (*Beth ham-midrash*), of which we have already spoken fully.

The Sabbath closed with a supper, at which, as at the Friday evening meal, a light was kept burning, and wine and spices were used. The formula of benediction was pronounced over each of these in succession. The Sabbath ended at sunset:—"If the sun went down before the meal was finished, eating ceased. Those present washed their hands, and over the cup of wine they returned thanks to God for the food. Then the formula of separation between the Sabbath and the rest of the week was pronounced. If any one was drinking when the Sabbath closed, he would cease drinking while the formula of separation was pronounced and then drink again.'

¹ "In the Temple the same works are done on the Sabbath as on other days, and there is no Sabbath rest in the Temple" (Maimon., "Pesach," ch. I.).

² Mark ii. 27.

³ "Mecilla, Ci-thissā," I.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BIBLE.—PIETY.

The Law and the Prophets.—The Authority of the Torah.—The Canon of Scripture.—What was the Bible in the Time of Christ?—Translations into Aramaic.—Piety.—The Regulation of the Life.—Sinners.—The Devotion of the Galileans.—Piety in the School of Hillel.—Hatred of the Foreigner and Expectation of Messiah.—The Observance of the Law.—The Consciousness of Sin.

THE BIBLE.

WHEN the contemporaries of Christ spoke of their holy books, they described them as "the law," or "the law and the prophets."¹ The "law" designated the five books attributed to Moses: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. The term "the prophets," described the works which bear this name in the Hebrew Bibles of to-day; namely, first, the *Prophetæ priores*—Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings; and next the *Prophetæ posteriores*—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi. Beside these two groups, there were the books which form the third part of our Hebrew Bible, that is to say—Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, the two Books of Chronicles.

Some of the books in this last group are often quoted

¹ Matt. xxii. 40, etc.

in the New Testament—the Psalms, for example; others, such as the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs, are never quoted at all. They seem to have been either unknown to the early Christians, or held in less esteem among them. We notice here then, first, a gradation in the authority of the holy books. The law occupied the highest position; it was looked upon as, from beginning to end, the work of God Himself. There are no words strong enough to express the idea which the rabbis of the first century entertained of the divine inspiration of the law. We may quote a few of their sayings on this head:—"He who affirms that the law is not given from heaven, shall have no part in the world to come."¹ "He who says that Moses wrote a single verse out of his own brain is a liar, and a despiser of the word of God."² The only disputed point was whether God had given Moses the whole law at once, or volume after volume. The last verses of Deuteronomy, in which the death of the lawgiver is narrated, were said to have been dictated to him in anticipation by God.³

The whole tenor of the life hinged on a knowledge of the law; the synagogue and the school existed solely to facilitate the study of it.

The rabbis said: "He who knoweth not the law is accursed."⁴ Shammai said: "Let the study of the law be the rule of thy life."⁵ And Hillel: "An ignorant man cannot be truly pious;"⁶ or again, "The study of the law leads to life, the schools lead to wisdom;"⁷

¹ "Sanhedrim," X. 1.

² *Ibid.*, 99 a.

³ "Baba Bathra," 15 a; "Ant. Jud." IV. 8, § 48; Philo, "Vita Mosis," Book III. § 39.

⁴ See also John vii. 49.

⁵ "Pirke Aboth," I. 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 2, 3, 6, 7; IV. 14.

and, "A bastard who knows the law is better than a high priest who is ignorant of it." "These are the things which bear fruit in this life and the good of which endures in the life to come: to honour father and mother, to exercise charity, to seek peace with all men, and, above all, to study the law."¹

Not was it enough to know it; it must be practised also. The Jew prided himself on this. Josephus insists strongly upon it: "We do not teach by practical exercises but not by words, like the Spartans," he says, "nor do we confine ourselves to theory and words without any regard to the practice, like the Athenians and almost all the other Grecians."²

Schools for the children, synagogues for the adults, schools of learning for the scribes, these were the various institutions designed to assure the study and practice of the law.

After the law came the prophets, as we have said. Almost always named together, these two were of nearly equal authority. The Holy Scriptures, forming the third part of the sacred canon, came next. All these books were of God; but it must not be forgotten that the oral tradition was also held by the Pharisees to be divine. Their written sacred documents and their oral traditions formed a sort of hierarchy, the highest rank in which was assigned to the law. The prophetic and other writings, as well as the precepts of the wise, transmitted by word of mouth, were to the law what tradition is to direct revelation. All that Judaism had inherited, all that came down to it in the name of any of the great men of old, was divine, but the

¹ "Pe'ah," I. 1.

² "Contr. Apion," II., § 16, 17, 18; see particularly the opening words of § 18.

mode of inspiration was not defined and the sacred canon was not exclusive of other books which might also have come from God. The modern idea of a canon, exclusive, complete and final, certainly had no existence in the first century. The Book of Enoch, which has never been received into the sacred canon, was undoubtedly of great authority in the time of Christ. So also the Book of Daniel, though it too did not then belong to the received Scriptures. It was held in high esteem as coming from one of the great prophets of the exile and containing wonderful revelations. Every work which had not found a place in the volume of the law and the prophets was judged on its own merits and those of its author.

Thus the third group of sacred writings was formed. Daniel, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs were admitted into it ; but the Book of Enoch, Ecclesiasticus, the Books of the Maccabees, etc., were excluded. The two latter were, on the contrary, accepted by the Jews of Alexandria. But whether admitted to the canon or not, they were certainly looked upon as holy Scriptures, for every document which was at once ancient and religious was so regarded. The Mishnah, in quoting any sacred book whatever, always says : "As it is written," or, "It is said ;" or, "Thus it is said." The same expressions occur repeatedly in the New Testament, particularly in the writings of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews ; and we trace everywhere the undisputed and indisputable conviction that God is the *auctor primarius* of all Holy Scripture whatsoever.¹

The question of the canon, which becomes of such curious interest in later times, had not then even pre-

¹ Thus we read 2 Tim. iii. 16 : All Scripture is inspired of God--"all," without any article to the word Scripture.

sented itself in the time of Christ. Hence the differences which we find in the various ancient authorities as to the number of the sacred books. Josephus speaks of twenty-two; "five books of Moses, thirteen of the prophets, and four of hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life."¹

Reuss² and Treuenfels³ have tried to reconcile this figure with the number twenty-four, which afterwards formed the total of the books used in the synagogue.

M. Derenbourg also suggests a combination by which these figures may be harmonised. He supposes that Josephus joined together the books of Ruth and Judges, and the Lamentations and prophecies of Jeremiah. In the thirteen volumes of the prophets, he thinks he may have included Ezra and Nehemiah in one volume; Daniel, Esther, and Chronicles, may have been added later on account of their historical value. The four books of hymns must have been the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, the last two forming one volume.⁴ All this is very ingenious, but has little foundation. It is probable, in fact, that many books which are now distinct, may then have been combined in one. But we have no means of ascertaining this, and it would always be easy, by devising such combinations, to reconcile conflicting figures. The truth is, there was no fixed canon, and every one catalogued the sacred writings as seemed to him best.⁵ We find a very curious list in one of the

¹ "Contr. Apion," I. § 8.

² Reuss, "Revue de théologie," Strasburg, 1859, p. 284.

³ "Literatur-Blatt des Orients," X. and XI.

⁴ "Histoire de la Palestine," p. 478.

⁵ Josephus says positively that the twenty-two books were not all held in equal honour: "*πίστεως οὐχ ὁμοίας ἡξιῶται.*"

Talmuds. It enumerates only eight books of the prophets: namely, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, the two Books of Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and then places all the twelve lesser prophets in a single book.¹

It was after the year 70, at the very time of the great catastrophe, that the schools of the Pharisees seriously attempted to fix the third part of the canon. The prophets had already long been settled beyond dispute. Ezekiel alone gave rise to some doubts, because certain verses in his writings seemed in contradiction with Moses, but Eleazar ben Hananiah showed that the contradiction was only apparent,² and Ezekiel was admitted.

As to the Hagiographa, many of them commended themselves. The Psalms occupied the first place. They were sung in the synagogue, and had been written by David, Asaph, and other ancient poets. If some of them were of more recent date, they passed under the shelter of their older companions.³

Daniel was accepted without controversy; his name and the apocalyptic form adopted by him in his writings were decisive in his favour.⁴

All the other books called for serious examination. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs were only admitted with difficulty. We have observed that they are not quoted in the New Testament, nor are Nehemiah and Esther.⁵ The existence of such a person as Job was doubted, and the book which bears his name

¹ Gloss. on "Bathra," fol. 13, 2. Lightfoot, "Horæ," p. 858.

² "Chagigah," 13a; see Grätz, "Geschichte der Juden," III. 499.

³ Luke xxiv. 44. "The law, the prophets and the psalms," says Jesus.

⁴ The high priest sometimes had the Book of Daniel read on the eve of the Feast of Atonement. "Yoma," I. 6.

⁵ The Book of Esther was always read at the Feast of Purim.

was regarded by many of the rabbis as only a poetic fiction. As to the Books of Chronicles, they were looked upon as comparatively modern. By degrees, however, all these works were received into the canon and quoted like the rest. The Books of the Maccabees and the Ecclesiasticus of Jesus ben Sirah were less fortunate. Their rejection is difficult to explain. It is probable that the first condition required for admission into the canon was conformity with the law, and these works may have seemed in contradiction to it. We can understand the hesitation that may have been felt about Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. They had neither religious nor moral worth to recommend them.¹ The Song of Songs was only received when it was decided to explain it allegorically, and then Rabbi 'Akibah exclaimed: "All the Hagiographa are holy, but the Song of Songs surpasseth them all."²

It is not probable that this writing was as yet allegorised in the time of Christ. The Bible which He used, and which was doubtless that of the synagogue of Nazareth (He afterwards used that of Capernaum), evidently included the Law, the Prophets, and certain Hagiographa—Daniel for example, and the Psalms which Jesus often quoted. We know that the Book of Isaiah and the Psalms are constantly mentioned in the New Testament. The religious library of a Jew of the first century included: 1st, the Law; 2nd, the Prophets, some of which, as Isaiah and Jeremiah, were studied by preference; 3rd, the Psalms. Daniel was added subsequently. In the fourth rank came the famous pseud-epigraphs: the Book of Enoch, the Psalms of Solomon, and perhaps some later writings of this description, such as the Assumption of Moses.

¹ "Baba Bathra," 14 b.

² "Yadayim," III. 15.

Before concluding, we must say a word on the versions in the vulgar tongue. The Law and the Prophets, read each Sabbath day, would have remained a dead letter to the greater part of the hearers, if each verse had not been translated immediately into Aramaic. We have spoken of these oral interpretations in the chapter on the Synagogue.

Were there any written traditions? The answer to this question remains very doubtful; and the need of written versions did not make itself felt till after the dispersion of the people. We know that the quotations from the Old Testament given in the New are very capricious. Sometimes they are exact and even literal; at other times, from the pen of the same author, they are so free that the original is hardly to be recognised in the translation. Here is an anomaly hard to explain. It is possible that the Jews who were the contemporaries of Christ possessed a complete translation of the Law and the Prophets in the Aramaic tongue which presented many points of analogy with the translation of the Septuagint in use at Alexandria, and which alone has come down to us.

This hypothesis would explain the quotations of the Old Testament in the New on the theory that the writers of the New Testament quoted from this Aramaic version, which was sometimes literal, sometimes very free. It would also solve another difficulty;¹ but we have nothing definite to support it, for the passage in Job to which we refer in the note is not alone sufficient.

¹ The point in question is an addition to the Book of Job, which we find in the Septuagint version of a "Syriac Bible." Job xlii.

PIETY.

It was difficult for the religious and moral life to develop itself in the stifling atmosphere of the world of the scribes and Pharisees. The relations of man with God had come to be regarded as those of a debtor with his creditor. How much do I owe? What have I to do to satisfy the law? Such was the one question perpetually recurring. We can understand, therefore, the charge of hypocrisy brought by Christ against the Pharisees, and the kind of synonymy there afterwards came to be between the words Jesuit and Pharisee. The Pharisee was always liable to attach more importance to the act than to the intention, and to think that the observance of a rite was of value apart from the disposition of mind which accompanied it. He found means to elude even the commandment, "Honour thy father and thy mother,"¹ and he did so in true Jesuitical fashion. The artifice employed to make the Sabbath day's journey four thousand instead of two thousand paces, or to carry burdens from one house to another without breaking the law, is altogether worthy of Escobar.²

We have referred also to the incredible extension given by the Hillelites to the law of divorce. "Ye strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel,"³ Christ had said; and it is strange indeed to find on the lips of Hillel and Antigone of Socho the beautiful words and pure gospel precepts we have already quoted from them.⁴ These were sublime intuitions of truth, rays

¹ Matt. xv. 5.

² See chap. vii. : The Sabbath.

³ Matt. xxiii. 2; see also the well-merited reproaches in Luke xi. 39, 44, etc.

⁴ See chaps. i., ii., iii., iv.; "Aboth," I. 3; II. 4, 10, 12; V. 20.

of light flashing out of the deep darkness. The combination, so marked in the Judaism of the first century, of a genuine piety with a morality that had become absolutely false in principle, was well put by St. Paul when he said: "They have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge."¹

As a general rule, the Pharisees may be said to have left nothing to the initiative of the faithful. The whole life was regulated to the minutest detail. A man was told all that he was to do, whether working, walking, resting, eating, drinking, sleeping, travelling, or staying at home. From morning to night, from childhood to old age, the fetters of formalism were about him, crushing out all individuality. His moral life had no scope for development; his very being was cramped and enervated.

We are referring here to the devotees among the disciples of the Pharisees. These are important to us because it was against them Christ lifted up His voice. It was the spectacle of their observances and their false pietism which called forth the great spiritual reaction of the teaching of Jesus. Side by side with these devotees there were the crowd of the indifferent, those who found religion tedious, and who lived without any belief. We must not imagine for a moment that the whole nation was religious. Palestine had its practical materialists like other countries, and the first century did not differ from other ages. These materialists, if they were rich, called themselves Sadducees, and sheltered their indifference behind this title. If they were poor, they did not allow themselves to be absorbed, like the working men of our day, in the struggle for daily bread, for the poor man then was contented with little, and life did

¹ Rom. x. 2.

not make the same demands upon them as upon us. From the Talmuds we gather that the indifferent, to whatever class they belonged, passed their time in watching the boats on the Lake of Tiberias, if they lived on its shores, or in lounging about the streets, or on the markets, if they lived in Jerusalem.

All those who failed to obey the law were much looked down upon by its scrupulous observers. They were called sinners, people of evil life, not because their conduct was immoral, but because they did not submit to the requirements of the traditional law, and did not accept the Pharisaic yoke. They paid no heed to the distinction made by the devout, between things Jewish and pagan, lawful and unlawful. They knew not the law, and they were declared accursed.¹ People of this description were to be met with everywhere in Galilee. The Gentile element, which so largely prevailed in that northern province, was favourable to independence of thought, and consequently to indifferentism. Any Pharisees living at Capernaum or Bethsaida were sure to have come from Jerusalem.

It was in Galilee also that the largest number of truly pious Jews were found, men who knew how to cherish deep religious feeling apart from obligatory forms and sacred ritual. These Galileans were accustomed to go on pilgrimage to the Temple, and carried with them a simple, artless piety which made the priests and formalists smile. They must have been something like the pilgrims of to-day, who come to the Holy Sepulchre seeking to awaken high emotions, while the guardians of the sacred spot look on with cynical indifference. The Pharisees and Sadducees who passed their lives in the Temple probably regarded these Galileans with the

¹ John vii. 49.

same cold *hauteur* with which the monks of Palestine now regard the traveller and the stranger. Have we not in Tobiah a type of piety such as was probably not uncommon at that time?

The author of the first two chapters of the Gospel of Luke (inserted unaltered by Luke in his narrative) and Luke himself were surely pious, simple-hearted men such as we have been describing. The third evangelist, who is also the author of the Book of Acts, is in truth the one of the synoptic writers whose personality comes out in his Gospel. In the first two Gospels we lose sight of the writers altogether; they merely reproduce the current traditions about Christ. Their writings are as impersonal as possible. Not so with the writer of the third Gospel. He gives us the opportunity of knowing or, at least, of guessing at him.

We picture him to ourselves as one of those simple Israelites, pious and trustful, one of those deeply religious souls who believe in the constant intervention of God in their life, and who love to tell of visions of angels,¹—one of those trustful beings to whom every priest is a good priest, and every doctor of the law a holy man of God,²—one who speaks of all holy assemblies with loving admiration,³ and who always thinks that all is well in the Church.⁴ Such souls believe that all religious communities are prosperous, that the difficulties which arise now and again are speedily removed, that even serious differences are soon explained and harmony re-established, and that the faithful are always full of joy and peace and of the Holy Ghost.

The historian Josephus has something of this ten-

¹ Luke i. 11; v. 26; Acts viii. 26; xii. 7, etc.

² Acts xviii. 24; Acts xi. 24, etc.

³ Acts ii. 42, and foll.

⁴ Acts xii. 24, etc.

dency. There is a charming *naïveté* in his narratives. He does not go deeply into things, but always tries to make his people seem admirable, and from his account one might think the disputes of the Pharisees and Sadducees were nothing more than the subtle controversies of schoolmen. He shows a tendency to poetize and romance, arising out of his own good faith and his extraordinary credulity;¹ hence his universal and inexhaustible indulgence towards others. Hillel and his party came now and again under the influence of this atmosphere. Hillel often counselled peace, forbearance, charity. To live in peace with all the world and to be full of suavity was one of his aims. But it was subordinate to the one great purpose which he and his followers set before them, namely, to know and observe the law. Thus the school of simple piety, independent of all forms, could not flourish in the midst of Judaism. Even with Hillel the dominant passion was fanaticism. The disciples of Shammai were always at hand to fan it to a flame, and to stir up hatred, envy and strife.

This religious fanaticism was absolutely identified with political rancour. The presence of the foreigner, of the Roman centurion, who was constantly seen in the streets, and of the rude soldier who allowed himself all licence, fostered and deepened the hatred that burned in the bosom of the Jews. This feeling went on increasing, and finding vent in futile uprisings quickly suppressed, till it culminated in the great explosion of rage and despair in the year 66, which lasted for four years, and put an end to the existence of this unhappy people as a nation.

The feelings habitual to an inhabitant of Palestine in

¹ This does not prevent him, however, as we have shown, from colouring the history when it seemed to him to his own interest, or that of his people, to do so.

the first century may be summed up in two sentences : hatred of the foreigner, and devotion to the law. In speaking of the political passions of the Jews, we have already dwelt on the state of constant irritation in which they lived, but it comes before us again here in characterizing their piety, for this very frenzy was to them a religious duty.

It was a duel to the death which commenced between Rome and Jerusalem sixty-three years before Christ. During the lifetime of Christ, the excitement of the whole nation went on increasing from day to day. This consuming hatred and fierce fanaticism contrasted strangely with the perfect gentleness and deep calm which marked His whole bearing.

We must go back to the most troublous times in our own history to form any idea of the environment in which Christ lived at Jerusalem. Herod's enormities had stung the Jews to madness ; the Romans were looked upon simply with horror. The life of John the Baptist—the life, that is, of one of the greatest men of the age, great by his eloquence and his popularity, and greater still in his zeal for God and the austerity of his patriotism—had been sacrificed to the caprice of a tetrarch in his cups, who had been making his step-daughter dance before his courtiers. It is easy to understand how such deeds as these should irritate the passions of the people, and make them detest their tetrarchs as they did the Romans.

The hatred of all that was not Jewish was constantly strengthened by the hope of Messiah. This hope was the fuel which fed the fire of patriotic zeal. Deliverance was at hand. This was the universal belief. "He is coming!" *Ἐρχόμενος*, the coming one ; this was the name of Messiah. Faith in the approaching manifesta-

tion of the Deliverer was in the hearts of all, and, apart from this, it would be impossible to understand either the religious life of the period or the teaching of Christ and of the doctors of the law.

The second striking feature of Jewish piety was the study of the Torah. The bondage of "the letter which killeth," as St. Paul says, pressed heavily upon men's consciences. Servile submission to the yoke of tradition was enforced; the bondage of legal ordinances took the place of moral obligations; the mechanical performance of a rite was made the substitute for virtue and faith; and to all this was added the hypocritical devotion and moral casuistry of the Pharisees. The law, as we have said, took precedence of everything else.¹ It was better to suffer all things than to fail in its observance.² This zeal for the law was very selfish, and when Antigonus of Socho said, "Be not as servants who serve their master for reward, but be like those who serve freely,"³ he gave utterance to a sentiment which his hearers could not understand. He spoke, as it were, to the air. The zealots were servants who sought their own things. Every one who observed the letter of the law was sure of his reward.⁴ This is indeed the root idea of what we may call man's religion, as opposed to the religion of grace, which is the religion of Christ.

Spiritual philosophy is undoubtedly a protest against this false idea of recompense. It inculcates the practice of morality for its own sake without thought of payment. Evangelical Christianity has diffused the same

¹ "Contr. Apion," II. § 38, I. § 8.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Pirke Aboth," I. 3.

⁴ "Thy reward shall be in proportion to thy work" ("Pirke Aboth," V. 23. See also V. 8, 9.

teaching throughout the world, but man always comes back to the idea of the meritoriousness of works. Catholicism advocates this no less than the heretical sects of Arians, Socinians, and Unitarians, which all tend necessarily to Pelagianism or semi-Pelagianism. The opposite teaching, that of Jansenius, Luther, Calvin, St. Augustine, and St. Paul, contains the only true evangelical principle. It alone is in harmony with the doctrine of Christ. Jesus says: "Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace." And this simple utterance sums up all that is included in what was afterwards known as the doctrine of justification by faith. "An ignorant man cannot be pious," says the scribe; and Jesus replies: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." In these words He pronounces the eternal condemnation of all forms of gnosticism, which have their root in the scribal conception of religion.

The thing that was most lacking in the piety of the first century, even among earnest and thoughtful men, was conviction of sin. True piety begins with the confession of our own spiritual poverty. "Have mercy on me," said the leper who cast himself at the feet of Jesus; and this cry, coming not from the sick man, but from the sinner, becomes the initial utterance of Christian piety. Now the Jews did not know what sin was. To them it was sin to keep back part of the tithe, to write more than two letters on the Sabbath day, to fail in the exact recital of the prescribed prayers; for all these minutiae were to be observed more scrupulously than the most sacred precepts of eternal morality.

Among the religious exercises of the people, we note purifications, fasting, almsgiving, and prayer. Of each of these observances, we shall speak particularly in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER IX.

PURIFICATIONS.—FASTS.—ALMSGIVING.

Laws in the Pentateuch relating to Purity.—How these were Modified by the Pharisees.—Various Ordinances.—Origin of Baptism.—Six Kinds of Purifying Waters.—The Opinion of Rabbi 'Akibah.—Fasting in the Old Testament.—Fasts Prescribed by the Sanhedrim.—Optional Fasts Twice in the Week.—Meritorious Almsgiving.—Charity Among the Jews.—Quotations from Maimonides.—The Tithe.—Various Sorts of Almsgiving.

PURIFICATIONS.

EASTERN nations, living as they do under a burning sun, have understood from time immemorial the necessity of frequent washings. Health, and even life depend on them; and in very early times these purifications became invested with a religious character. Legislators embodied them in their codes, and they formed a part of theocratic constitutions, which were regarded as of divine authority. Thus in all the religions of the East, ablutions are an important element. In Mahometanism, for example, they are rigidly enforced, and Mosaism was no exception to the rule in this respect.

It would seem, at the first glance, difficult to be more exact and minute than Moses was in his ordinances on this matter of purification. He enters into all the details, and does not lose sight of any case that might

present itself. And yet all the ordinances of Moses are as nothing compared with the traditions handed down to us in the Mishnah. This contains no less than twelve voluminous tracts on this subject, beginning with the tract *Cēlām*, which distinguishes between the different kinds of defilement, and comments upon the passages in the Pentateuch, to which we have referred. Each particular case suggests a host of other cases still more special, and these in their turn give rise to fresh details. Here, as everywhere else, the same Jewish principle is applied: the law is commented on, and the commentary is explained in its turn. Then the explanation needs further definition, and so on, *ad infinitum*. The origin of all these minute regulations is the desire to do just what the law prescribes. The question is not whether a thing is right or wrong in itself, but is it allowed or forbidden by the law?

Defilement might be contracted in various ways, indicated in the Torah.¹

Some animals were forbidden; others were not. A woman, after childbirth, was looked upon as impure for a certain time. The laws about leprosy were generally very strict. Contact with a corpse caused defilement, which was to be carefully guarded against; if it had been contracted, purification was necessary. These laws are admirably adapted to a people still in its infancy, and living in an exceptionally hot climate. The use of certain meats was unwholesome; the contagion of leprosy was greatly to be dreaded, and after a death it was necessary to avoid anything that might produce an epidemic. But in the first century the purely hygienic character of these ordinances was not understood.

¹ Particularly Lev. ch. xi.-xv.; Num. ch. xix.

It was no longer such and such meats which were looked upon as forbidden, but all meat which had not been sanctified by the payment of the tithe; it was food sold by a Gentile which was defiled. Wine, oil, wheat, of Gentile production, were proscribed; for it was impossible to be sure that such viands were clean. The Essenes, who carried these principles to extremes, were obliged to withdraw from the world; in no other way could they be certain of escaping all defilement. The ordinary Pharisees were bound to observe the utmost vigilance; and whenever they had touched a garment, a piece of furniture, or anything which might by possibility be unclean, they could only be freed from the stain by repeated ablutions and purifications. The Sadducees were very sceptical on this point. In this respect, as in others, they represented common sense and breadth of view. They ridiculed the absurd minutiae of ceremonial on which the Pharisees prided themselves. In truth, the passion for useless detail and idle observance has never been carried so far as by these Pharisees. The casuists attached capital importance to the substance of which a thing was made, to its form and state of preservation. If an earthen vessel was hollow, the inside alone contracted defilement. To make a small hole in it then sufficed to restore its primitive purity, but it was needful to know how large the hole must be.¹ The Mishnah gives lists of these hollow vessels; it classifies and names them all, and describes each, without omitting a single detail.² Flat objects, made of wood, leather, bone, or glass, cannot contract defilement. Under the Maccabees, however, Josē ben Joēszer and Josē ben Jochanan of Jerusalem gave it as their decision that vessels of glass were impure, with as much

¹ "Cēlīm," II. 2.

² *Ibid.*, 2, 3, 7, etc.

gravity as if they were pronouncing the countries inhabited by Gentiles to be unclean. Rabbi Eliezer, being somewhat broader than his brethren, said that account must be taken of the purpose for which the article was intended. In the case of hollow vessels, great attention must be paid to the manner in which they were handled. If the hands were clean, but the outside of the cup was unclean, defilement might be contracted by touching it.¹

We will not dwell further on these absurd details.

Purifications were performed in two ways, either by taking a bath, or by simply washing the hands up to the wrist.² The total immersion of the body was only necessary in serious cases, such as contact with a reptile, a corpse, or a leper.³ On returning from market, or from any public place, it was sufficient to wash the hands; but there was very careful purification of the vessels used at table, and of the couches on which the family reclined to take their meals.

Contact with a Gentile probably rendered a bath for the whole body necessary, and in this we think we divine the origin of baptism. It has often been asked whether the Jews were in the habit of baptising Gentile proselytes. This seems to us certain. Can any text be quoted in support of it? We are not aware of any; but since a Jew, who had come in contact with a Gentile, was bound to take a bath to purify himself,

¹ "Cēlīm," XXV. 7, 8.

² Mark vii. 3, 4; "Fadayīm," ch. 2, fol. 3.

³ The purification from defilement, contracted by contact with a dead body, was a very long process; it often lasted a whole week. It was necessary, in particular, to be sprinkled on the third and the seventh day with water of purification, mixed with the ashes of a burnt cow. "Rosh Hash-shanah," fol. 16, 2.

surely there would be a far stronger necessity for a Gentile convert to Judaism to purify himself by a total immersion of the body.

Nor was this all. If water was a purifier, it was asked what water purifies best? Does it not need one special kind of water for baths of the whole body, another for washing hands, and another for cleansing utensils? The Mishnah goes on to distinguish six kinds of water, of various degrees of virtue:—1st. The water of ponds or cisterns, which is stagnant; this kind of water may only be used for the hands. 2nd. Flowing water from the hills; this also may only be used for the hands. 3rd. Water drawn in large quantities, more than forty measures; this is sufficient for an entire bath for purification or for the washing of any article. 4th. Water from trickling springs; this is used also for baths, even if it is stagnant. 5th. Mineral or thermal waters. 6th. Water from a pure spring.

This last description of water, the best of all, was only to be used in cases of very serious defilement, such as running wounds or baths for the leprous.

Each of these six sorts of water again furnished matter for fresh discussion; take, for example, the third (the forty measures of water), was it needful to inquire whence it came? If these forty measures had been conveyed through pipes or conduits, and did not all come from one river or one spring, was it lawful to use them? Might melted snow or ice be used? As to the washing of hands, other questions arose. It had to be determined in what sort of vessels the washing might be done, what water must be used, and how far the hands must be plunged in?¹ No pious Israelite commenced a meal without having gone through this

¹ "Yadayim," I. 1-5; II. 3.

formality. Jesus was found fault with for sitting at table with unwashed hands.¹ The Mishnah tells us² that when Rabbi 'Akibah was in prison, he was only allowed a very limited quantity of water. One day his gaoler, considering that he still had too much, said to him, "You have too much water!" and poured away half of it. Now on this day Rabbi Joshua came into the prison after the gaoler, and Rabbi 'Akibah said to him, "Give me water to wash my hands;" and Rabbi Joshua said to him, "There is scarcely enough left for thee to drink, and how wilt thou wash thy hands?" Rabbi 'Akibah replied, "I would rather die of thirst than transgress the commandment about washing of hands." We know from various details in the Gospels³ that in the time of Christ many were of the same mind as Rabbi 'Akibah.

FASTING AND ALMSGIVING.

The law of Moses maintained great reserve on the subject of fasting. It only required it once a year, on the great Day of Atonement.⁴

The Old Testament speaks further of optional and individual fasts.⁵ These were meant to be a means of repentance.⁶ After the exile, regular fasts were appointed in the fifth month (Ab), either in memory of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple, or in order to recall other events in the past.⁷

These were observed with extreme rigour. There

¹ Luke xi. 38. ² "Erubin," 21, 2.

³ Matt. xv. 2; xxiii. 25, 26; Mark vii. 2-5.

⁴ Lev. xvi. 29; xxiii. 27; Acts xxvii. 9.

⁵ Josh. vii. 6; Judges xx. 26; 1 Sam. vii. 6; xxxi. 13; 2 Sam. xii. 16; Joel ii. 12; Jer. xxxvi. 9; 1 Kings xxi. 12; 2 Chron. xx. 3.

⁶ Jonah iii. 5.

⁷ Zech. vii. 5; viii. 19.

was an entire abstinence from food, lasting often from one evening to another; that is to say, twenty-four consecutive hours.

According to certain rabbis, however, the night was not counted. R. Chasda said: "Fasting which the sun does not shine upon (that is to say, in the night) is not a fast." It was allowable, therefore, to eat and drink during the night. "It is lawful to eat and drink till the sun is up in the east."¹ It must be observed that the extreme heat of the climate rendered these prolonged fasts less trying than they would be to us.

In the first century their observance formed a regular part of the religious practices of the nation. We must distinguish between the national fasts decreed by the Sanhedrim—whether at fixed periods or under special circumstances—and individual fasts, which every one initiated for himself and observed on certain occasions. Neither of these ever fell on the Sabbath.

The autumn fast, prescribed by Moses himself, was the most important of the national fasts, and was observed with all the greater rigour if the autumn rains were late. This rain, called "the latter rain,"² was indispensable to the culture of the soil. If the 17th Marcheshvan came and it had not yet rained, the Sanhedrim proclaimed a three days' fast. If by the new moon of Kislev the rain had not yet fallen, three more days were set apart for fasting. If the whole month of Kislev went by without rain, the Sanhedrim ordered another three days' fast, and after this a whole week of humiliation, to obtain the rain so ardently desired.

There were also fasts appointed by the synagogue which, like those observed by individuals, arose out of

¹ "Ta'anith," fol. 64, 3.

² See Book I. ch. xii.

some specially trying event. "There are trials in the congregations; ¹ assaults of the enemy, the sword, pestilence, hurtful beasts; therefore a fast is proclaimed." In relation to private fasts it is said: "If a man has any one belonging to him ill, or wandering in a desert land, or shut up in prison, he is bound to fast for him."

These fasts, whether of the whole synagogue or of a single family, or even of an individual, were observed generally on Monday and Thursday, the second and fifth days of the week; and the pious Pharisees went so far as to fast regularly all the year on these two days, simply for purposes of devotion.² It was well understood that this fasting twice in the week was optional. It was supposed, nevertheless, to have been instituted by Ezra. "He established," it was said, "the public reading of the law on the second and fifth days of the week, because Moses went up into the mount to receive the tables of the law on the fifth day, and came down again on the second, and on these days there is also a fast."³

Sometimes men fasted from very strange motives; in order to secure pleasant dreams, to find the explanation of a dream, to avert some evil omen. There were also fasts of various degrees. The least rigorous of all was that in which it was still permissible to anoint the head and wash the face. Then came that on which these two acts were forbidden;⁴ and lastly, when the fast was observed in all its rigour, it was forbidden for a man even to salute his friends when he met them.⁵ If Jesus

¹ "Ta'anith," ch. ii.

² "I fast twice in the week" (Luke xviii. 12).

³ Babyl., "Baba Kamma," fol. 82, 1.

⁴ "Yoma," ch. VIII. halac. 1; Jerus., "Ma'asēr Sheni," fol. 53, 2, and "Shabbath," fol. 12, 1.

⁵ "Ta'anith," l. 4-7.

recommends fasting of the first degree,¹ it is in order that it may be done in secret, and that there may be no temptation to make a show of good works. We find, indeed, that the disciples of Jesus did not fast, while those of John the Baptist did.² When Christ speaks of the Pharisees who disfigure their faces when they fast,³ He is probably alluding to the habit of the Pharisees to sprinkle ashes upon the head and face. "On fast days," say the Talmuds, "every one takes ashes and puts them on his head."⁴ It was said of Rabbi Joshua, the son of Ananias: "All the days of his life his face was black, because of his fasting."

If fasting was meritorious, almsgiving was still more so. It is certain that the children of Israel practised this. The care of the poor was one of their great concerns, and the practice of collecting for them existed among the Jews before it was introduced into the Christian Church. There is a wide difference, however, between the two. The almsgiving among Christians was not looked upon as meritorious, and it was extended to all men without distinction. St. Paul collected among the Greeks the money intended for the poor Judeo-Christians of Jerusalem. This was an entirely new and unprecedented thing, and a recognition of the universal brotherhood initiated by the Gospels. The Jew was charitable only to a Jew; he alone was his "neighbour," and it is singularly instructive to place the parable of the good Samaritan side by side with certain implacable utterances of Maimonides; as, for example: "Heretical Israelites—that is to say, those who worship idols and those who deny the Law and the Prophets—

¹ Matt. vi. 16-18.

² Matt. ix. 14.

³ *Ibid.* vi. 16.

⁴ "Ta'anith," ch. II., and "Yuchasin," fol. 59.

ought to be killed publicly if possible, if not, in secret.”¹ These words are certainly intended to describe the Samaritans, and we know from the history of the war of 66-70, that the zealots did not hesitate to put this principle into practice. “As to the Gentiles,” says the same author, “who are not at war with us, there is no command to kill them, but it is forbidden to save them from death. If a Jew sees a Gentile fall into the sea, it is not his duty to pull him out. It is indeed written, ‘Thou shalt not be guilty of the blood of thy neighbour’; but such an one is not thy neighbour.”² Tacitus had, then, good reason for saying of the Jews: “They are famous for their hatred of the human race.” The feeling of charity was absent from these dried-up hearts, and the precept of Christ, “Thou shalt love thine enemy,”³ was absolutely new when it was uttered. St. Paul’s ode on charity⁴ could not be understood by a Jew, since what he called the exercise of mercy comprehended only two duties—“that of assisting poor or imprisoned Israelites with money, or of comforting them in person in their affliction.”⁵

The principal form of almsgiving was the tithe. This was not always given from a feeling of charity; it was often prompted by fear, for it was written, “He who eats food that has not been tithed is worthy of death,”⁶ and it was assuredly in this spirit that the Pharisee in the parable paid tithes of all he possessed.⁷

As to Zaccheus, if he gave “the half of his goods to the poor,”⁸ it is evident that it was ill-gotten gain with

¹ Lightfoot, “*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*,” p. 286.

² We have already had occasion to quote part of these words, Book I. ch. vi. See p. 182.

³ Matt. v. 43.

⁴ 1 Cor. xiii.

⁵ “*Pe’ah*,” fol. 1, 1.

⁶ “*Sanhed.*,” fol. 83, 1.

⁷ Luke xviii. 12.

⁸ *Ibid.* xix. 8.

which he was so liberal. This tithing of the whole substance was so generally adopted by the the Jews, that Christ Himself gave His sanction to it, even to the tithing "of mint and anise and cummin."¹ In fact, it was said : "every article of food, everything which a man possesses of his own, and everything that grows out of the earth, is subject to the tithe."²

Almsgiving which was meritorious in the sight of God, was all the more so if it was done without the knowledge of men, and the Jews highly approved secret almsgiving. "He who gives an alms in secret, is greater than Moses our master."³ Thus Christ was only the echo of many of His contemporaries when He said : "When thou doest alms, sound not a trumpet before thee."⁴ This expression is probably only to be taken figuratively. We have spoken indeed of the trumpet laid up in the chest at the synagogue, and it is possible that as the collection was made from bench to bench during the service, the Pharisees may have had the amount of their gifts proclaimed with a blast of the trumpet ; but the Talmuds nowhere allude to this practice, and it seems to us very doubtful.⁵

The alms, properly speaking, were of three kinds : First, those which were put into the public boxes ; these were collected by three deacons and distributed to the poor. Second, the collection made in the synagogue, which was more particularly set apart for the poor of the town or village. St. Paul advises the Christians to imitate this practice, and to set apart on each first day of the week, the money destined for the poor.⁶ The sum thus collected in the synagogue was distributed the

¹ Matt. xxiii. 23.

² "Ma'asmoth," I, I.

³ Babyl., "Baba Bathra," fol. 9, 2.

⁴ Matt. vi. 2.

⁵ See ch. vi. : The Synagogue.

⁶ I Cor. xvi. 2.

same evening. Third, the alms of the field, that is to say the corner of the field which was not gleaned, some sheaves being left by the reapers, intentionally or not, for the poor ; also the remains of the vintage.¹

¹ Lev. xix. 9, 10 ; Deut. xxiv. 19.

CHAPTER X.

PRAYER.

The Shema'.—When Used.—The Shemonēh 'Esrēh.—Was this Liturgy Recited in the Time of Christ?—The Çiççith.—Phylacteries.—Forms of Thanksgiving.—The Rabbis Taught their Disciples Prayers.—The Talmuds and the Lord's Prayer.—The Piety of the Arabs in the Present Day.

PRAYER is the highest, purest, fullest expression of religious feeling. It is the natural manifestation of piety. The place which it occupies in the life, and the manner and spirit in which it is offered, give a fair idea of the religious life of a person or a nation. How do nations or individuals pray? The answer to this question will give the measure of their piety and the degree of intensity of their spiritual life. Among the Jews, with rare and beautiful exceptions, prayer was like almsgiving, fasting and the rest of their religious observances, only a mechanical act, a meritorious repetition of certain words. Scarcely ever spontaneous, offered at certain fixed times, and expressed in set and invariable formulas, it had nothing in common with true prayer but the name.

We have already spoken of the prayers in the synagogue, and we shall presently describe those offered in the Temple. In this chapter we are referring only to the prayers of individuals.

Every morning and evening the Jew repeated a

prayer called the *Shema'*, because it began with this word, which means "Hear." Women, children, and slaves were alone exempted. This *Shema'* was indeed rather a repetition of verses than a prayer.¹ It consisted of the three following passages: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord." ("Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom for ever.")² "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thine heart; and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the doorposts of thy house, and upon thy gates."³

"And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently unto my commandments which I command you this day, to love the Lord your God, and to serve Him with all your heart and with all your soul, that I will give the rain of your land in its season, the former rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil. And I will give grass in thy fields for thy cattle, and thou shalt eat and be full. Take heed to yourselves, lest your heart be deceived, and ye turn aside, and serve other gods, and worship them; and the anger of the Lord be kindled against you, and He shut up the heaven, that there be no rain,

¹ Josephus speaks of the *Shema'*, "Ant. Jud.,' IV. 8, 13. Δ' δ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, etc.

² This parenthesis was added to the text by the faithful.

³ Deut. vi. 4-9.

and that the land yield not her fruit, and ye perish quickly from off the good land which the Lord giveth you. Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul ; and ye shall bind them for a sign upon your hand, and they shall be for frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them your children, talking of them when thou sittest in thine house and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the doorposts of thine house, and upon the gates ; that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, upon the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of the heavens above the earth.”¹

“And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of each border a cord of blue : and it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them ; and that ye go not about after your own heart and your own eyes, after which ye use to go a whoring : that ye may remember, and do all My commandments, and be holy unto your God. I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God : I am the Lord your God.”²

These were the words which every morning and evening throughout the length and breadth of Palestine the Jews gabbled over as Catholics tell their beads. The hour at which these verses were to be recited is given in the first chapter of the tract “Beracoth.” In the evening, the Shema’ might be said between the time

¹ Deut. xi. 13-21.

² Num. xv. 37-41.

when the priests entered the Temple to eat the meat of the sacrifices and the close of the first watch. Rabbi Gamaliel allowed it to be recited any time during the night. For the morning repetitions, the time fixed was from the break of day to the third hour, that is to say till nine o'clock;¹ but it was better to say it early, as soon as there was light enough to distinguish blue from white. Rabbi Eliezer preferred to wait till blue could be distinguished from green,² which is more difficult and makes it certain that the day is well begun.

This Shema' was used everywhere, in the synagogue,³ on the market place, in the streets, in the houses, in a word wherever any one might happen to be when the set time came.⁴ "A man surprised by the hour of prayer while in a tree gathering fruit, is bound to say his Shema'."⁵ Christ was evidently protesting against this vain repetition when He said: "And in praying, use not vain repetitions, as the Gentiles do."⁶ We have in the Jewish liturgies numerous examples of these "vain repetitions."

In the morning, beside the Shema', three forms of thanksgiving were used, two before reciting the Shema', and one after. In the evening, there was one more form of benediction, making four in all.

The Jew never knelt to pray; sometimes he bowed himself to the earth according to the Eastern mode of salutation, but this was only in exceptional circumstances. Usually the Israelite said his prayers standing upright, his head bent forward, his eyes fixed on the ground. "In prayer the head must be covered and the

¹ "Beracoth," I. 1-5.

² "Beracoth," I. 2.

³ Matt. vi. 5; "Beracoth," 2, 1; 69, 3.

⁴ Matt. vi. 5; Maimonides, *Mishnêh Torah*, "Tephillah," ch. II.

⁵ "Beracoth," 16.

⁶ Matt. vi. 7.

eyes cast down."¹ "The disciple of the wise looks down when he stands to pray."² Before commencing to pray, the Jew turned towards Jerusalem and the sanctuary. "If a man prays in the Temple, he looks toward the holy of holies; if elsewhere, he looks toward Jerusalem."

Nor is this all. There was another vain repetition in as common use as the *Shema*, and still longer, against which Christ also protested. We refer to the *Shemonēh 'esrēh* (meaning eighteen), called also *'Amīdah*. This was the name given to the eighteen thanksgivings which every Israelite—man, woman, child or slave—was bound to recite three times a day, in the morning, in the afternoon at the hour of sacrifice,³ and in the evening. The following is an exact translation of this prayer.

1. "Be Thou praised, O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, the great and mighty and dreadful God, the Supreme Being, Dispenser of benefits and of favours, the Creator of all things. Thou rememberest the piety of the patriarchs, and Thou wilt send a Deliverer to their children, to glorify Thy name and to show forth Thy love. O King, our help, our strength and shield; be Thou praised, O Lord, the shield of Abraham."

2. "Thou livest for ever, Almighty Lord; Thou dost raise the dead; Thou art almighty to succour; Thou dost make the winds to blow and the rain to fall.⁴ Thou dost sustain all that live by Thy grace; Thou

¹ Maimon., *Mishnēh Torah*, "Tephillah," ch. v. See Luke xviii. 13.

² "Pe'ah," ch. v.

³ It was probably the *Shemonēh 'esrēh* that Peter and John were going up to the Temple to recite at three o'clock in the afternoon (Acts iii. 1). The priest at this hour also gave the benediction. See ch. xii.: On the Temple service.

⁴ This parenthesis was only inserted in the season of bad weather, from the Feast of Tabernacles to Easter.

dost raise the dead of Thy great mercy ; Thou dost uphold those that fall ; Thou dost heal the sick ; Thou dost free the prisoners, and dost keep Thy promises to those who sleep in the earth. Who is mighty like unto Thee, O Lord ? Who can be compared unto Thee ? O our King, it is Thou who killest and makest alive ; from Thee comes all our help. Thou wilt fulfil Thy promise to raise the dead. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who raisest the dead."

3. "Thou art holy ; Thy name is holy, and Thy saints glorify Thee day by day. Selah. Praised be Thou, O Lord, the Holy God."

4. "Thou givest man wisdom and fillest him with understanding. Praised be Thou, O Lord, the Dispenser of wisdom."

5. "Bring us back to thy law, O our Father ; bring us back, O King, into Thy service ; bring us back to Thee by true repentance. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who dost accept our repentance."

6. "Pardon us, O our Father, for we have sinned. Absolve us, O our King, for we have offended against Thee. Thou art a God who dost pardon and absolve. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who of Thy mercy dost pardon many times and for ever."

7. "Look upon our misery, O Lord, and be Thou our Defender. Deliver us speedily for Thy glory ; for Thou art an Almighty Deliverer. Praised be Thou, O Lord the Deliverer of Israel."

8. "Heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed ; help us, and we shall be helped. Thou art the object of our praise. Bring Thou therefore effectual healing for all our ills. Thou art the King Almighty, our true Physician, full of mercy ! Be Thou praised, O Lord, who healest the sick of the children of Thy people."

9. "O Lord our God, bless this year and these harvests; (give dew and rain;) ¹ give Thy blessing to the ground; satisfy us with Thy goodness, and make this year as the good years. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who blessest the years."

10. "Sound the trumpet of deliverance; lift up the standard which shall gather together the dispersed of our nation, and bring us all quickly back again from the ends of the earth. Praised be Thou, O Lord, which gatherest together the outcasts of Israel."

11. "Let our judges be restored as aforetime, and our magistrates as in the times past. Deliver us from affliction and anguish. Reign Thou only over us, O Lord, by Thy grace and mercy, and let not Thy judgments come upon us. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who lovest truth and uprightness."

11^{bis} (12). "Let the slanderers be put to shame; let all the workers of iniquity and the rebellious be destroyed; let the might of the proud be humbled. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who dost trample on Thine enemies and abase the proud."

12 (13). "Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be showed upon the upright, the humble, the elders of Thy people Israel, and the rest of its teachers; be favourable to the pious strangers among us and to us all. Give Thou a good reward to those who sincerely trust in Thy name, that our lot may be cast among them in the world to come; that our hope be not deceived. We also put our trust in Thee; praised, be Thou, O Lord, who art the hope and confidence of the faithful."

13 (14). "Return Thou in Thy mercy to Thy city Jerusalem. Make it Thine abode as Thou hast promised. Let it be built again in our days. Let it never

These words were added in winter.

be destroyed. Restore Thou speedily the throne of David. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who dost rebuild Jerusalem."¹

14 (15). "Cause the stem of David to spring forth speedily, and make it glorious by Thy strength, for in Thee do we hope all the day. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who dost make Thy salvation glorious."

15 (16). "Hear our supplication, O Lord our God; protect us; have pity on us. Hear our prayers in Thy mercy and loving-kindness; for Thou art the God that hearest prayer and supplication. Send us not away, O our King, until Thou hast heard us. Thou dost graciously receive the prayers of Thy people Israel. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer."

16 (17). "Let Thy people Israel and their prayers be acceptable unto Thee. Restore Thou the service in the courts of Thy house. Receive of Thy favour the offerings of Israel and their prayers, and let the worship

¹ On the fast of the 9th Ab the following words were added: "O Lord our God, comfort those who mourn for Jerusalem and Zion. Have pity on this city, which is filled with mourning, desolation, and contempt. She bears the grief of the children whom she has lost. Her palaces are broken down, her glory is passed away. She is overthrown, desolate, and without inhabitants. She is forsaken, having her head covered like a barren woman who has borne no children. The legions of the enemy have laid her waste; the idolaters have taken possession of her. They have slain Thy people Israel. They have slaughtered without pity the saints of the Most High. Therefore Zion weeps bitter tears, and Jerusalem lifts up her voice. My heart, my heart bleeds over these martyrs; my bowels, my bowels are torn for these massacres. But Thou, my God, who hast consumed this city by fire, Thou wilt rebuild it by fire; for thus it is written (Zech. ii. 5): 'For I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and I will be the glory in the midst of her.' Praised be Thou, O Lord, who comfortest Zion and dost rebuild Jerusalem."

of Thy people Israel be ever acceptable to Thee. May our eyes see the day when Thou in Thy mercy wilt return to Zion. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who will establish Thy dwelling-place in Zion."

17 (18). "We confess that Thou art the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers for ever and ever. Thou art the rock of our life; the shield of our salvation from generation to generation. Blessing and praise be unto Thy great and holy name, for the life which Thou hast given us; for our souls which Thou dost sustain; for the daily miracles which Thou dost work in our behalf; for the marvellous loving-kindness with which Thou dost surround us at all times—in the morning, at mid-day, and in the evening. God of all goodness, Thy mercy is infinite; Thy faithfulness fails not; we hope in Thee for ever. For all these Thy benefits Thy name be praised and extolled for evermore. Let all that live praise Thee. Selah. Let them praise Thy name in sincerity. Praised be Thou, O Lord; Thy name alone is good, and Thou alone art worthy to be praised."

18 (19). "O our Father, let peace and prosperity, Thy blessing, Thy favour, Thy grace and mercy, be upon us and upon all Thy people Israel. Bless us all with the light of Thy countenance, for it is by this light, O Lord our God, that Thou hast given us an eternal law, the love of justice and uprightness, blessing, mercy, life, peace. May it please Thee to bless Thy people Israel, at all times and in all places, and to give them peace. Praised be Thou, O Lord, who givest peace to Thy people Israel."

Such was the *Shemonēh 'esrēh*. It underwent some alterations (additions or omissions) on feast days. We have given in a note the admirable confession of sin used on the 9th day of the month Ab. In the same

way, at the Feast of Purim, certain phrases were used in remembrance of the great deliverance which it recalled. At the Feast of the Dedication an important passage was also added to these eighteen benedictions.

We cannot read the Shemonēh 'esrēh without coming to the conviction that it could not have been in existence in the time of Christ, in its present form. It alludes perpetually to the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple. It must, then, have been written after the year 70. But we know that a similar prayer was in use for a hundred years before the destruction of the sanctuary; that is to say, at the time of the birth of Christ. Doubtless the history of the Shemonēh 'esrēh was like that of all other liturgies. It gradually became modified, and was completed by successive additions. We may be sure, however, that in the form in which we have it, is very old.

Was it already divided into eighteen parts at the beginning of the first century and was the present order fixed at this early period? We cannot say. The Babylonian Talmud says that one Shim'ōn Hap-pikūli composed, in the time of Gamaliel the Elder, a series of eighteen prayers. Samuel the Less is said to have also written a prayer at the request of this doctor. This is one proof the more that in the time of Christ prayers were in use similar to those which have come down to us in the Jewish liturgy.

Lastly, the Talmuds say that the Shemonēh 'esrēh consisted at first of only eighteen benedictions, and "*that the nineteenth was added at Yabneh.*"¹ This shows its great antiquity; for the sojourn of the rabbis at Yabneh began immediately after the fall of the Temple, and we

¹ The prayer about the Çadūkim (the Sadducees, the heretics) was added at Yabneh. "Beracoth," fol. 28 b.

know that the Shemonēh 'esrēh was recited by 'Akibah, Gamaliel the Younger, and others, that is to say at the beginning of the second century after Christ.

In its present form the Shemonēh 'esrēh is of singular beauty ; and assuredly the ideas expressed in this magnificent prayer were not unfamiliar to the pious Jews of the time of Christ. They were derived indeed from the Old Testament, and, if we look carefully, we shall find that the Shemonēh 'esrēh consists entirely of fragments of phrases taken from the Psalms and the Prophets. But it was much to have put them together and to have composed out of these fragments such sublime apostrophes, expressing in turns adoration, faith, humiliation and hope.

We must not fail then to do justice to all that is really admirable and pathetic in the piety of the Jews of the first century. The idea of God, in particular, as it was set forth on every page of the books of the Old Testament, was apprehended in all its beauty and grandeur. God was the Lord, the Almighty, the Being who said "I am that I am." He was also the Heavenly Father. We are convinced that this name, while it became popularized by the teaching of Jesus, was not new to his contemporaries.

The most beautiful of all prayers, however, may become a "vain repetition" if uttered mechanically. The rabbis sometimes tried indeed to set themselves against these meaningless repetitions. "If a man says his prayer as if to get through a set task, that is no prayer."¹ "Do not look upon prayer as a formal duty, but as an act of humility, by which to obtain the mercy of God."² This last utterance is attributed to Rabbi

¹ Talmud Jerus., "Beracoth," IV. 4.

² "Pirke Aboth," II. 13.

Simeon, who lived at the very time of which we speak ; but these protests of the rabbis went for nothing. There was but one remedy : to do away with these daily repetitions, and this was what the first Christians made up their minds to do. We may add that Christ never said anything against the recitation of prayers in itself, but only against the merit attached to their mere repetition.

In the *Shema* the reader will have noticed the rules given by Moses for keeping its commandments. These commandments were to be fastened on the doors of the houses, on the hands and on the brow of the faithful, and were to be recalled to him by the border of his garment. The Jews carried out these various injunctions to the very letter. On the four corners of their mantles, they wore the *Çiqqith* (in the New Testament *κράσπεδα*). We have spoken of these already in describing their garments. They wore blue or white fringes, which the Pharisees loved to have of a great length.¹ Christ Himself had fringes to His robe,² and this practice was distinctly commanded by Moses.³ The pious Jews made use also of a little oblong box called the *Mezuzzah*, which they hung at the doors of the houses and of the rooms, and in which was a little scroll of parchment. This manuscript contained in twenty-two lines the two portions, Deut. iv. 4-9 on love to God, and xi. 13-21 on the blessings attached to obedience to the commandments. This custom is still observed, and many a Jewish family, especially in Germany, hangs the *Mezuzzah* above the door of the house.⁴

¹ Matt. xxiii. 5.

² Luke viii. 44. "She touched the *Çiqqith* of His garment."

³ Num. xv. 37 and fol. ; Deut. xxii. 12.

⁴ On the *Mezuzzah*, see "Ant. Jud.," IV. 8, § 13 : "Beracoth, III. 3 ; "Megillah," I. 8 ; "Mo'ed Katan," III. 4 ; "Menachoth," III.

We have already described the *Tephillin* (in the New Testament *φυλακτήρια*),¹ small strips or bands of parchment fastened by straps to the hand or on the head, and containing the two passages of the Mezuzzah and two others also,² relating to the Passover and the redemption of the firstborn. The Talmuds speak constantly of the phylacteries, and Maimonides give a most minute description of them.³ They tell us how they were fastened on; how the verses which they contained were written;⁴ how they were to be recited.⁵ The details thus given are of the most puerile description and interminably tedious, and we shall not attempt to go into them. Jesus doubtless Himself wore phylacteries; for while He condemned the ostentatious use of them, He did not condemn the practice itself. At twelve years of age, that is to say at the time of initiation into the Law, every boy was taught to recite the phylacteries, and it is evident this was a marked era in the life of Christ. The Old Testament, however, does not speak distinctly of anything but the *Çiççith*. The passages which have been thought to refer to the Mezuzzah and the phylacteries have no doubt been interpreted too literally.⁶

Prayer, and thanksgiving obviously occupied an important place in the life of the Jew. An entire tract in the Mishnah, the tract "Beracoth" (benedictions), is devoted to this subject. A Jew never began nor finished

¹ Matt. xxiii. 5.

² Exod. xiii. 1-10 and 11-16.

³ "Tephillin," chap. I. II.

⁴ "Tosaphoth Megillah," fol. 26, 2, 3.

⁵ "Beracoth," chap. I. II. III.

⁶ On the Tephillin see "Ant. Jud.," IV. 8, § 13; Mishnah, "Beracoth," III. 1-3; "Shabbath," VI. 2; VIII. 13; XVI. 1; "Erubin," X. 1-2; "Shekalim," III. 2; "Megillah," I. 8; "Mo'ed Katan," iii. 4; "Sanhed.," XI. 3, etc.

a meal without thanksgiving.¹ The formulas used for this purpose were fixed and invariable. It was not considered sufficient to bless the meal. Every article of food, the bread,² the wine, the fruit of the trees or of the earth, all were blessed ; so were the light, the fire the water, the storm, the lightning, the new moon. When Christ instituted the Lord's supper, He gave thanks first for the bread and afterwards for the wine.³ There was prayer on rising, on going to bed, at a birth, at a marriage, etc. "Would to God," says Rabbi Yochanan, "that man prayed all the day long."⁴

Jesus deprecated long prayers. Some rabbis, on the contrary, attached great importance to their length. Rabbi Isaac said that "long prayers are useful if men believe they will be heard for the prolonged meditation."⁵ But this was not the universal opinion, and the tract Beracoth has preserved for us this beautiful saying: "The best adoration consists in keeping silence."

The doctors of the law often composed prayers for their disciples to recite. John the Baptist seems to have done this;⁶ and so also did Jesus. This was, according to the Talmuds, a general custom at the time ; and the "Beracoth" of the Talmud has preserved for us some of

¹ It is remarkable that all the Epistles of St. Paul, except that to the Galatians, begin with thanksgivings.

² The Arabs preserve this custom. "Every time any one takes a drink," says a modern traveller, "the Sayyi who receives you says Saah (thanks), and the proper reply is '*Allah isel-mek*' which is equivalent to our 'God bless you.' These formulas are repeated ten times in the course of each meal." Guy de Maupas-sant, "Au Soleil ;" "Revue polit. et litt.," No. 22.

³ Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, and paral.

⁴ "Pray without ceasing," says St. Paul, 1 Thess. v. 17.

⁵ Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 55 a.

⁶ Luke xi. 1, and foll.

these prayers. They were designed to take the place of the ordinary public prayers; but instead of this, they were added to them. These short petitions were used after the Shema' and the Shemonēh 'esrēh, and were called concluding prayers.¹ Rabbi Eliezer usually added this petition at the close of his prayers: "Let it please Thee, Lord, that love and brotherliness be our portion." Rabbi Yochanan closed with these words: "Let it please Thee, Lord, to have regard to our low estate, and to look upon our distresses." It is probable that it was as one of these concluding petitions that the Apostles and early disciples of Jesus first used the Lord's Prayer. It came in naturally after the repetition of the Shemonēh 'esrēh, or rather of that part of it which was already formulated. Even this was sometimes abridged by certain doctors. Rabbi Gamaliel required it to be repeated intact, but Rabbi Joshua allowed a summary of it to be used; and Rabbi 'Akibah said: "If a man can repeat the eighteen benedictions throughout, let him do so, if not, let him repeat the summary."² It has been supposed that the Lord's Prayer was meant by Christ Himself to be a summary of the Shemonēh 'esrēh; but this seems to us scarcely likely.

If we glance at the petitions forming the Lord's Prayer, we shall see that whatever their tenor, they answer all the requirements of the Jewish theology of the first century. There is scarcely one of these petitions which has not its equivalent in the Talmuds.

In the first place the name *Father*, by which God is addressed, ought not to surprise us. It was in general use at the time, and we meet with it repeatedly in the Shemonēh 'esrēh. "Hallowed be Thy name, Thy

¹ Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 16 b.

² "Beracoth," fol. 28 b.

kingdom come." "Any prayer," says one of the Talmuds,¹ "in which the kingdom of God is not mentioned, is not a prayer." "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." Rabbi Eliezer said: "What is a short prayer? Do Thy will in heaven above, and satisfy those who fear Thee on earth."² "Give us this day our daily bread." "May it please Thee to give to every man that which he needs to sustain life."³ We find nothing in the Talmuds exactly corresponding with the next petition for the forgiveness of sins; but the prayer, "Deliver us from evil,"⁴ is brought to our minds by this passage. Rabbi Judah was wont to pray thus: "May it please Thee to deliver us from the insolence of wicked men, from accident and sickness, from bad companions, and bad neighbours, from Satan the destroyer, from severe judgments and cruel enemies."⁵ The doxology with which the Lord's Prayer concludes in the received text of the New Testament did not originally form part of it, but it also has a parallel in the Talmuds, which give us in several passages⁶ prayers ending, "And blessed be the name of Thy glorious kingdom for ever and ever."⁷

As we close these chapters on the characteristics of Jewish piety in the time of Christ, we are struck more forcibly than ever with the resemblance of the Arab life in our day to the life of the Israelites of old. We have said resemblance—we might almost

¹ Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 40 *b*.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 29 *b*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Or rather: from the wicked one, the devil, ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. If Jesus had said "from evil," the text would have run ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

⁵ Babyl., "Beracoth," fol. 16 *b*.

⁶ Jerus., "Beracoth," fol. 13, 3; Babyl., "Yoma," fol. 39, 1; 41, 2.

⁷ Babyl., "Ta'anith," fol. 16 2.

have said identity. The Arabs, for example, fast just as the Jews did at the time of which we are speaking. When a disciple of Mahomet celebrates the Ramadan, he is bound neither to eat nor drink, "from the morning hour when the sun appears, to the time when the eye can no longer distinguish a white thread from a red one."¹ Is not this almost literally a reproduction of the rabbinical precept quoted a few pages back?

Men, women, and children from fifteen years of age, pass the whole day without touching either food or drink. Some excuse themselves from this fast. They say, like the Sadducean aristocrats of old, "We are gentlemen; religion is good for the common people, not for us." Even the hatred of the foreigner among the natives of our African colonies, recalls vividly the hatred of the Jews to their conquerors. Persons wishing to form an idea of the life of the children of Israel in the time of Christ have only to visit modern Algeria. The conquering Roumis are in the eyes of the inhabitants precisely what the Romans were in Palestine. "The Arabs say to one another," writes Guy de Maupassant, "that if any one kills one of these Roumis he goes straight to heaven, and that the time of our rule is drawing to a close." The same author describes "the fanatics who go about quietly preaching revolt, and proclaiming that the day of deliverance is at hand." There are constant opportunities of verifying the past by the present, and noticing the identity of customs and modes of life and thought. The race is the same; the social life has not changed; and the attitude of the Mussulman in his mosque under the eye of the mufti and the marabout, is strangely like that of the Jew in his synagogue, under the eye of the scribe and the doctor of the law.

¹ Guy de Maupassant, "Au Soleil."

CHAPTER XI.

THE TEMPLE AND ITS COURTS.

General Characteristics of the Religion of the Temple.—Appearance of the Temple from the Mount of Olives.—Its Construction.—The Court of the Gentiles.—Its Gates.—Its Porticoes.—Its Use.—The Chel.—The Court of the Women.—The Thirteen Gates and Thirteen Chests for Alms.—The Court of Israel.—The Court of the Priests.—The Altar of Burnt-offering.—The Hall of Session of the Sanhedrim.—The Halls and Gates of the Court of the Priests.—Corban.

THE Jewish religion, as we have described it in the preceding pages, has reached its finality. The Pharisee has fashioned it after his own image; he has made its future secure; and the Temple, with its ancient ceremonial, its priests and Levites, its sacrifices and burnt-offerings, has ceased to be an essential of Judaism. The faithful Israelite can fulfil the law without ever going up to the Temple. The Sadducee alone clings to the sanctuary, and like it he represents a vanishing past. In a few years, after the catastrophe of the year 70, both Sadducee and Temple will have disappeared; but there will still be synagogues and Pharisees, and Judaism will be perpetuated unimpaired. That gigantic erection, the Temple, which overlooks Jerusalem and all Judea, has no beauty except in the eyes of a Jew approaching it from a distance and looking on it for the first time, or to the Galilean pilgrim coming thither to pay his ardent

devotions. The citizen of Jerusalem has long learned to set his own value on it. He knows that the Sadducean priests who minister in the Temple smile covertly at the rites they observe, and are in truth pure formalists. The Temple service received its death-blow when Isaiah cried, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me, saith the Lord. I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats."¹ These were truly prophetic words, and contain within themselves the germ of the future. From the day when they were spoken the Temple was doomed. It was vain for Ezra to restore the law and with it the sanctuary; vain for Herod to build a magnificent Temple. The synagogue was to supersede it. The old Temple service had done its work; a change was necessary, and Ezra, in instituting houses of prayer throughout the land, really initiated this radical reform. At the commencement of the first century, and so long as the sacred edifice was standing, the Pharisee repaired to it; he was even ready to die in its defence, and never dreamed that in combating Sadduceeism, in enforcing the importance of the synagogue and in spiritualizing Judaism, he was really undermining the Temple. All the old forms of the Temple worship were still observed, possibly without any consciousness that they had become meaningless; but it was so. The indifference of men's hearts was complete; the reign of the sanctuary was drawing to a close.

So many able works have been written on the Temple at Jerusalem that it would be needless for us to attempt to give here more than a simple topographical description, intended to facilitate the understanding of the New

¹ Isaiah i. 11.

Testament. We have two great authorities to consult: Josephus¹ and the Mishnah.² The admiration of the Jewish historian knows no bounds. He describes the Temple as the most glorious building that ever existed under the sun, and the rabbis are equally enthusiastic. "He who has not seen the Temple of Herod has never seen a beautiful building."³

The best place for getting a general view of the Temple was the top of the Mount of Olives. There Jesus sat one day and predicted to His disciples the coming downfall of the great pile of buildings which met their gaze.⁴

In general aspect the Temple resembled a fortress, because of the enormous wall of defence which surrounded the courts and formed the first enclosure. This wall was slightly less elevated on the eastern side.⁵ From the Mount of Olives therefore the onlooker could see over it, and discern in the interior a series of successive enclosures, the walls of which were lower as they approached the centre. Between these walls were terraces which formed so many courts, communicating with each other by steps.⁶

There were several of these courts, and it was necessary to pass through them in order to reach the spot where stood the sanctuary (*ἱερόν*), the covered building, containing the "Holy Place" and the "Holy of Holies." The courts, placed one above the other, ran from east to west. The first, which included all

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XV. 11, § 1 and foll.; "B. J." V. 5, § 1 and foll.

² Especially the tract "Middoth."

³ Babyl., "Baba Bathra," fol. 4a; "Succah," fol. 51b.

⁴ Mark xiii. 1, 2.

⁵ "Middoth," ch. I. hal. 3.

⁶ "Ant. Jud.," XV. 11, § 1-3; "B. J.," V. 5, § 1, 5.

the rest, was of great extent. The sanctuary itself, Josephus tells us, "was covered all over with plates of gold of great weight, which at the first rising of the sun reflected back a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it, turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's rays. But this Temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming from a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. On its top it had spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it."¹

Such was the general aspect of the Temple in the time of Christ. At the present time the Mosque of Omar (called by the Mussulmans, the Haram) is built upon its site. The prediction of Christ, "There shall not be left here one stone upon another which shall not be thrown down,"² is literally fulfilled with regard to the Temple itself and the holy place. The outer enclosure is still standing in part as it was in the time of Christ. It is built of huge blocks of stone that have been there since the days of Solomon. It was to these the apostles pointed when they said: "Master, behold what stones!"³ Modern travellers have measured them; some of them are from twenty to twenty-two feet in length. They form now the wall of the Haram, and in this wall is still to be seen the beginning of an arch which formed part of the bridge crossing the Valley of the Cheesemongers, of which we have spoken in our first book.⁴

Tradition placed the site of the threshing floor of

¹ Jos., "B. J.," V. 5, § 6.

² Mark xiii. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, ver. 2.

⁴ There remains also the Golden Gate of the Temple, of which we shall speak presently.

Araunah the Jebusite, on which David built an altar, on the Temple mountain.¹ It was said also that here Abraham reared the altar on which he was on the point of sacrificing Isaac; that here Noah offered his burnt-offering when he came out of the ark; that here Cain and Abel presented their sacrifices; and, last of all, that here Adam first worshipped God.²

One fact alone is certain; namely, that here stood the Temple of Solomon. It was destroyed utterly when the nation was carried into captivity, and on their return from exile, the Jews raised on its ruins a temporary building. This soon proved inadequate, and it was rebuilt by Herod the Great. It is of this Temple of Herod we are speaking now. Begun in the eighteenth year of his reign (A.U.C. 734, 19 B.C.), it was completed by his great-grandson, Agrippa II., in the year 64 A.D.³ It was thus eighty-three years in building. It was still in course of erection during the lifetime of Christ, and when He began His ministry the work was in its forty-sixth year.⁴

Six years after its completion (70) it was again utterly destroyed. The more sacred part of the interior sanctuary was finished in eighteen months. The vast surroundings took eight years, and additions continued to be made for at least eighty years longer.⁵

This Temple was built in the Grecian and Roman style of the period, at once heavy and pretentious.⁶ The only fragment remaining—the Golden Gate, now walled up—is sufficient to give us an idea of the whole. It is

¹ 1 Chron. xxi. 18-26.

² Maimonides, "Mishnēh Torah, Beth habbechīrah," ch. II.; "Yuchasin," fol. 9, 1.

³ "Ant. Jud.," XX. 9, § 7.

⁴ John ii. 20.

⁵ "Ant. Jud.," XV. 2, § 5, 6.

⁶ See Book I. ch. xiii.: Arts and Literature.

surmounted by two rows of capitals carved with acanthus leaf, or some plant resembling the acanthus.¹

THE COURT OF THE GENTILES.

The first enclosure was only a huge square of 500 cubits. This was the Court of the Gentiles, of which we may say that it was the meeting-place for all Palestine. In this court, and to the north-west, stood the buildings of the Temple, as may be seen on the accompanying plan.

There were certain gates leading into the Court of the Gentiles. On the east was the Gate of Susa opening upon the Mount of Olives; there were also two entrances on the south side, four on the west, and one on the north; but the last was not used, perhaps on account of the nearness of the Tower of Antonia. The gates of the Temple formed, like those of the city, a sort of tunnel, with doors at each end, and a room or tower above, intended to defend the approach to the building. These towers did important service at the close of the siege of Jerusalem, when the last combatants took refuge in them in order to escape from the invaders of the sanctuary.

Inside the courts and along the walls were cloisters. These were places of shelter from the sun and rain, and within them were heard all day long the sharp voices of the scribes, the hot discussions of the Pharisees, and the mocking tones of the Sadducees. The cloister which ran along the eastern wall on both sides of the Gate of Susa was called Solomon's Porch. "The fourth

¹ Is the Golden Gate really a relic of the Temple of Herod? This was the opinion of M. de Saulcy; but archæologists are almost unanimous in assigning to it a later date.

front of the Temple, which was southward, had itself gates in the middle, as also it had the royal cloisters, with three walks, which reached in length from the east valley to that on the west. . . . This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows one over against the other all along.”¹ Solomon’s cloister had only three rows of columns, and therefore only two walks. “The roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood.” The height of the pillars was fifty feet, and the breadth of the walks thirty feet. The pillars were each of one entire stone, and that stone was white marble. The walks were paved with stones of various colours.² From Solomon’s Porch,³ the whole valley of the Kedron lay open to view, and the spectator had before him the tombs of the prophets,⁴ built upon the slope of the Mount of Olives.

The Court of the Gentiles, called by the Jews the common court, was open to all. Gentiles, men or women, were freely admitted to it,⁵ as also were heretics and excommunicated persons, people in mourning, and those who had contracted some defilement.⁶ Josephus calls this court the outer Temple. It was a public place, a forum, a bazaar; the sellers of beasts set up their stalls there in the morning, and there stood the little tables of the changers, who gave sacred money

¹ “Ant. Jud.,” XV. 2, § 5.

² The cloisters were burnt by the Romans, under Archelaus, in a tumult. The disaster was repaired, but in an inferior manner.

³ “B. J.,” V. 5, § 2; “Ant. Jud.,” XV. 11, § 5; XX. 9, § 7; John x. 23.

⁴ Matt. xxiii. 29; Luke xi. 47. See Book I. ch. ii.: Environs of Jerusalem.

⁵ Rabbi Gamaliel walking in the court of the Gentiles one day saw there a Gentile woman. Jerus., “’Abodah Zarah,” fol. 40, 2.

⁶ “Middoth,” ch. II. hal. 2.

for the Roman coinage. The crowd went and came. Turtle doves were sold under the cedars of Annas¹ to women coming up for the first time with their infants. Here also sparrows were bought by the lepers according to the law ;² five sparrows were sold for two farthings.³ On certain days there was a great concourse of pilgrims from Galilee and elsewhere. At such times there was a perfect Babel of tongues, all arguing and disputing. There was no attempt at edification or devotion, and the disorder of a Mussulman mosque can alone give any idea of the scene presented by the Court of the Gentiles.

There were, however, certain regulations to be observed, and any Jew who was zealous for the law might take the initiative in enforcing them. The proper place for the sellers and changers of money was not in the court, but outside, at the gates. Their presence within the precincts, though sanctioned by custom, was purely an abuse. Jesus tried one day to put an end to it by sternly driving out all the sellers. It is probable that more than one Pharisee secretly approved. Christ went even further. "He would not suffer that any man should carry a vessel through the temple."⁴ In this he only obeyed the prescriptions of the rabbis. "What is the respect due to the Temple?" say the Talmuds.⁵ "It is that no one should come into the Court of the Gentiles with his stick, his shoes, his purse, or with dust on his feet, and that he should not use it as a common highway to pass through, nor spit on the ground."

The interior of the Court of the Gentiles as, indeed, of

¹ See Book I. ch. ii : Environs of Jerusalem.

² Lev. xiv. 4.

³ Luke xii. 6.

⁴ Mark xi. 16.

⁵ Mishnah, "Beracoth," IX. 5 ; Babyl., "Yebamoth," fol. 6 b.

all the courts, was levelled, so that there was no incline from one to the other. The steps leading to the higher terraces were at the gates.

THE COURT OF THE WOMEN.

(*AZARATH NASHIM.*)

Let us now pass into the part of the Temple which was open to the Jews only.

The first court into which we enter is the "Court of the Women." All Israelites, men or women, had free access to this, but the women might not go further; hence the name of the court. It was a square of 137 cubits, separated from the outer court, or Court of the Gentiles, by two parallel walls, ten cubits apart. The space between these walls was called the Chel. The first wall which separated the Chel from the Court of the Gentiles was, according to the Mishnah, only ten hand-breadths in height, and was merely a barrier.¹ Josephus says three cubits, which seems a more probable measurement. It was a stone balustrade, elaborately carved, and having thirteen gateways. In front of these, at equal intervals, were thirteen pillars, each bearing an inscription, probably in Greek and Latin, forbidding the Gentiles, under pain of death, to venture further. Josephus, in describing them, says that the Romans respected this prohibition.² This assertion of the Jewish historian has been called in question; but if St. Paul was once accused of having taken Greeks into the

¹ "Middoth," ch. XII. hal. 3. This space was ten cubits wide, and separated from the common court by a barrier ten hand-breadths high.

² "B. J.," V. 5, § 2; "Ant. Jud.," XV. 14; "B. J.," VI. 2, § 4.

Temple,¹ this charge implies a written and formal prohibition. Philo, moreover, speaks of these inscriptions,² and a few years ago, M. Clermont-Ganneau actually found one of these columns engraved in Greek characters. It is more than probable that this may have been seen and read by Jesus Himself; He must certainly have passed by it.³

The way into the Chel was by thirteen gates placed behind the thirteen columns. The principal gate was on the east, and from it was an ascent of fourteen steps. Each step was half a cubit in height. The Chel was next passed through, and then came a second gate, which gave access to the Court of the Women. In this gateway was another flight of twelve steps, about nine feet. The Court of the Women was thus raised about eighteen feet above the Court of the Gentiles. The gate of which we have just spoken was called the Beautiful Gate,⁴ or the Corinthian Gate.⁵ "It had two doors, whose height was severally thirty cubits, and their breadth fifteen. They had large spaces within of thirty cubits, and had on each side rooms, and these both in breadth and in length built like towers, and their breadth was above forty cubits. Two pillars did also support these rooms, and were in circumference twelve cubits."⁶ The wall which separated the Court of the Women from the Chel was twenty-five cubits high, and it had nine gates: four on the north, four on

¹ Acts xxi. 28.

² "Legat. ad Cæsarem," § 31.

³ See "Revue pol. et litt.," Dec. 21, 1872. It reads as follows: "Let no stranger pass within the balustrade of the enclosure around the sanctuary. Any one doing so renders himself liable to the penalty of death."

⁴ ὡραία, Acts iii. 2.

⁵ "B. J.," V. 5, § 3.

⁶ "B. J.," V. 5, § 3.

the south, and the Beautiful Gate on the east. The cloister within the court was like that of the Court of the Gentiles, only more simple.

Before all the thirteen gates stood chests, called in the Talmuds, "Shopharoth" (rams' horns), because of their narrow necks. These received the sums offered for the various Temple services. Each chest was for a different object, indicated by an inscription in the Hebrew tongue.¹ The first was inscribed: *New shekels*; that is, shekels set apart for the expenses of the current year. The second: *Old shekels*; that is, shekels dedicated to the expenses of the previous year. Third: *Turtle doves and young pigeons*; the money placed in this chest was the price to be paid by those who had to offer two turtle doves or two young pigeons, the one as a burnt offering, the other as a sacrifice for sin. Above the fourth chest was written: *Burnt offerings*; this money covered the expense of the other burnt offerings. The fifth had the inscription: *Wood*, and held the gifts of the faithful for the purchase of wood for the altar. The sixth: *Incense* (money for buying incense). The seventh: *For the sanctuary* (money for the mercy-seat). The six remaining chests bore the inscription: *Freewill offerings*.² We know how they were used. When any one had bought what was needed for a sacrifice, and something was left over, the surplus was put into one of these chests. One received what remained after a sacrifice for sin; another the surplus from a sacrifice on recovery from sickness, or from the purification of a woman after childbirth; another the surplus after the sacrifice offered by a leper who had been cleansed, etc., etc. It was by one of

¹ "Shekalim," VI. hal. 1, 5, etc.

² "Shekalim," ch. VI. hal. 5; "Middoth," ch. II. hal. 5; Babyl., "Yoma."

these thirteen chests that the scene took place narrated in the Gospel, when Jesus saw a poor widow casting in her mite, "all that she had, all her living."¹ The offerings were to be quite voluntary,² but if any one gave money for *wood* or *incense*, there was a minimum fixed, and less than this might not be offered. It was necessary to give at least the price of a handful of incense, or two logs of wood a cubit long and large in proportion. All these gifts together constituted Corban,³ that is to say, money dedicated to God, and the part of the Temple where these *Shopharoth* stood was called the Treasury.⁴ When we are told that "Jesus spake these word in the treasury, as He taught in the Temple," it means that He was teaching in the Court of the Women, and near the thirteen *Shopharoth*.

In this enclosure the women of Israel performed their religious duties. They went forward to the side of the enclosure nearest the sanctuary, as far as a balustrade which was low enough to allow them to look over. It was forbidden for any one to enter the Court of the Women who had contracted any defilement and had only that day been purified from it.⁵

At the four corners of this enclosure were four rooms (in Hebrew, *lishkah*), or rather four small courts, for they were open to the sky; indeed, so far all that we have described, except the cloisters, was open to the air. These rooms were forty cubits square.⁶ The room on the north-east was called the chamber of the Nazarites; that is, the place where the Nazarites prepared their meals of sacrificial meat, where they had their heads

¹ Mark xii. 41 and foll.

² Matt. xv. 1 and foll.

³ Maimon., "Beth habbechirah."

⁶ Ezek. xvi. 21, 22.

² "Shekalim," fol. 8, 4.

⁴ John viii. 20.

shaved, and the hair thrown into the fire.¹ At the south-east was the chamber for *Wood*. The priests brought to this room all wood presented for the sacrifices, to assure themselves that it was not worm-eaten. Wood that was thus defective might not be used on the altar. To the south-west was the *Lepers'* chamber. It was here, and also at Nicanor's Gate, that the rites appointed for their purification were fulfilled. We have given an account of these.² Lastly, the court on the north-west was called the chamber of *Wine and Oil*.

COURT OF THE ISRAELITES.

(*AZARATH YISRAËL.)

The Court of the Israelites was very narrow, only eleven cubits in width. Its length was of course the same as that of the west side of the women's court, 135 cubits. It was not so much a court as a place reserved for the men who stood in front of the women. It was entered by what was called Nicanor's Gate. This gate was of Corinthian brass, while all the rest were of wood covered with plates of gold and silver.³ Tradition said that it had been brought from Alexandria by one Nicanor, and miraculously saved from shipwreck. "There were fifteen steps," says Josephus,⁴ "which led from the wall of the Court of the Women to this greater gate, whereas those that led thither from the other gates were five steps shorter."

The Court of the Israelites was then only two cubits higher than the Court of the Women. According to the Talmuds, it was the custom to sing on these fifteen

¹ Num. vi. 1-21.² Book I. ch. xiv. : The Leper.³ "Yoma," III. § 10; "B. J.," V. 5, § 3. ⁴ "B. J.," V. 5, § 3.

steps the fifteen Psalms known as the Psalms of Degrees.¹

The tower over Nicanor's Gate was fifty cubits in height and forty in breadth.

It was at this gate the bitter waters were given to drink to wives suspected of unfaithfulness.² This singular ceremony, which is described in the Mishnah,³ had become extremely rare. It is only mentioned twice in the rabbinical traditions, and Rabbi Yohanan ben Zaccar abolished it altogether in the first century. It was also at Nicanor's Gate that the purification of women after childbirth was accomplished, and partially that of the lepers also.

The extreme limit of the Court of the Israelites was marked by a balustrade, in the middle of which were three steps, and a platform on which the priests stood to pronounce the benediction on the people.⁴

COURT OF THE PRIESTS.

(*AZARATH COHANIM*.)

We are now approaching the Holy Place. We have reached the Court of the Priests, the enclosure into which none else might enter. In the centre rose the *ἱερόν*, the Temple, in the strict sense of the word—a covered building, of which more anon. A step of one cubit led up to the Court of the Priests. If to this we add the three steps to the platform from which the priests blessed the people, and each of which steps was about half a cubit deep, we get roughly three cubits as

¹ Ps. cxx.—cxxxv. This statement is doubtful. We believe that these psalms were originally the songs of those on pilgrimage, that is, of pilgrims going up to the holy city. ² Num. v. 18.

³ "Sotah," I. hal. 5.

⁴ Mishnah, "Middoth," ch. II. § 6.

the elevation of the Court of the Priests above the Court of Israel. This last enclosure was of great extent. The "Middoth" says it was 187 cubits E. and W. and 137 N. and S. The inner wall had a colonnade all round it.

Behind the platform from which the benedictions were pronounced, and in front of the gate of the sanctuary, stood the great altar of burnt-offerings, built of unhewn stones. It stood in the middle of the Court, facing the entrance. It was a square of 32 cubits, according to the Talmuds. Josephus says it was 50 cubits square and 15 high. The difference is easily explained. Josephus includes in his figures the steps leading up to the altar, while the rabbis reckoned without them. The priests went up by a gentle incline on the south side. The points of the four corners of the altar terminated in the shape of a horn. There was a conduit at the south-west corner, through which the blood of the victims flowed westward and southward, to be lost in the brook Kedron. To the north of the altar were several marble tables, on which the flesh of the victims was placed.

Northward and southward of the Court of the Priests, and along the cloisters, were several covered chambers, each having a special purpose. The most important was that in which the Sanhedrim held its sittings, or the Hall of Hewn Stones (*Lishcath hag-gazith*), which we have already described.¹ It had two entrances—the one by the Court and the other by the Chel.² Only the king was permitted to sit in the Court of Israel. The members of the Sanhedrim, therefore, could only be seated when they held their sessions in the part included in the Chel; that is to say, in the first half. It has been

¹ Book I. ch. iv.: The Sanhedrim.

² "Middoth," ch. 5.

asked in which Court Jesus was when, as a child, he *sat*¹ in the midst of the doctors. There were three places in the Temple where it was lawful to sit for discussion. The first was at the Gate of Susa, the second at the Gate of the Court of the Gentiles, and the third in the first half of the Hall of Hewn Stones. It must have been in one or other of these places that Mary found Jesus. The hall of session for the Sanhedrim was in the form of a basilica. It was situated exactly in the south-east corner of the Court of the Priests.² Beside it and farther to the west was what was called the *Chamber of the Fountain*. This contained a well with a pulley over it. Here the water was drawn for the Court of the Priests.³

The Water-Gate, leading directly through the Chel into the Court of the Gentiles, was contiguous. It derived its name doubtless from its situation, by the side of the Chamber of the Fountain. It is possible, also, that on certain festivals, such as the Feast of Tabernacles, when more water was wanted than the well could supply, it was brought through this gate.⁴

After this gate came the *Chamber for the Wood*. Wood ascertained not to be worm-eaten was stored here for the altar fire. Above this chamber, on the first story, was another, in which the priests met to discuss questions relating to the various services. Last came the Gates of Oblation and of Burning. The two corre-

¹ Luke ii. 46.

² In the "Middoth" it says: "To the south of the Court of the Priests were the Hall of the Wood, that of the Fountain, and that of Hewn Stones." The Gemara of Babylon and Maimonides give more particulars, and from the "Yoma" (fol. 25), we conclude it was at the south-east corner.

³ "Middoth," V. hal. 3; "Yoma," fol. 19, 1.

⁴ Babyl., "Yoma," fol. 31. This passage seems to indicate that a conduit of spring water passed through this gate.

sponding openings, facing due north, had the same name.

On this side we find first a gate and a chamber where the priests and Levites were on guard. This was called *Niççûç*, and also the Choir Gate.¹

Next came the chamber where the entrails of the victims were washed, and that in which the skins were salted.² Above these was a chamber in which the High Priest bathed on the great Day of Atonement.³

Then came the Gates of Oblation and of Burning, on the south side of the court. They were separated by the Chamber of Salt, where the salt for the sacrifices was kept. The Gate of Oblation was also called the Women's Gate.

It received its first name because the beasts intended for sacrifice were brought in by it, and its second because it was used specially by the women, who brought thither to the priests the victims they desired to offer on the altar.

The Gate of Burning derived its name from the use to which the adjoining hall was put. There the perpetual fire was kept burning for the priests. These two gates (the Gate of Oblation and the Gate of Burning) were also called the Gates of Corban, because the treasury of the temple was close by. In this was kept, under the name of Corban, or sacred money, all the contents of the thirteen chests of which we have spoken, as well as the direct yearly tribute of half a shekel per head.⁴

This was the general coffer. The Romans did not fail to dip into it from time to time, and we have already said how Pilate rendered himself odious by taking the

¹ "Middoth," I. hal. 5.

² Babyl., "Yoma," 35, 1.

³ "Middoth," 5, hal. 2.

⁴ Book I. ch. xi.: Public Life ; Tribute Money.

Corban to pay for the construction of an aqueduct to bring to Jerusalem water from Solomon's Pools.¹

The Corban was very considerable. The money taken at each collection filled, it was said, three great receptacles in the underground passages of the Temple.² This money was used, first of all, to provide for the daily sacrifice; next, to pay the salary of the subordinate functionaries, of those who decided whether the animals brought were pure or impure, of the scribes attached to the sanctuary, and whose duty it was to make copies of the Law, of the bakers who made the shewbread, of those who prepared the incense, and so on.³

Lastly, by the side of the Gate of Burning were four chambers: 1st, That of the lambs, where were the lambs kept for the sacrifices. 2nd, That of the shewbread. 3rd, The chamber where the Asmoneans had placed the stones of the altar, after the kings who succeeded Alexander had profaned it. 4th, A chamber for baths.

It only remains to mention a great brass basin, like that in the Tabernacle and in Solomon's Temple. This stood to the south-east of the sanctuary, in the court. One Ben Katon had twelve taps fixed in this, so that twelve priests could wash at once. He also devised an apparatus for bringing a supply of water direct from the well.

Such was the Court of the Priests. The first impression made by the brief description we have given of it will probably be that it must have very much resembled the inside of a slaughter house. There were the sheds to which the sheep were brought; the place where

¹ See Book I. ch. iii.: Pontius Pilate.

² "Shekalim," 6 a.

³ Grätz, "Gesch. der Juden," III. 124.

the inwards were washed and the skins salted. There were the rows of rings to which the animals were fastened to be slaughtered; there were the eight marble slabs on which the flesh of the slain animals was placed, the eight pillars to which the carcasses were hung to be skinned. To say nothing of the sickening odour of the burning fat, the scenes of butchery upon the altar were such as we can scarcely picture to ourselves, and contrast strangely with the idea we have to-day of worship, of a sanctuary, a religious ceremony. It is difficult, perhaps impossible for us, after the lapse of long centuries in which such practices have been done away, to attach a sacred character to scenes like these—to imagine the bellowing of the victims, the flowing blood, the kindled wood, the priest in his sacred dress, the rigid decorum and solemnity with which every act of this sanguinary worship was performed, in spite of the inevitable disorder attending certain sacrifices. But whether we can realize it to ourselves or not, this worship was an unquestionable fact. In the time of Christ, it was, indeed, on the eve of expiring, but it had behind it a long historic past.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TEMPLE.—THE SANCTUARY.—THE PRIESTS.—THE CEREMONIES.

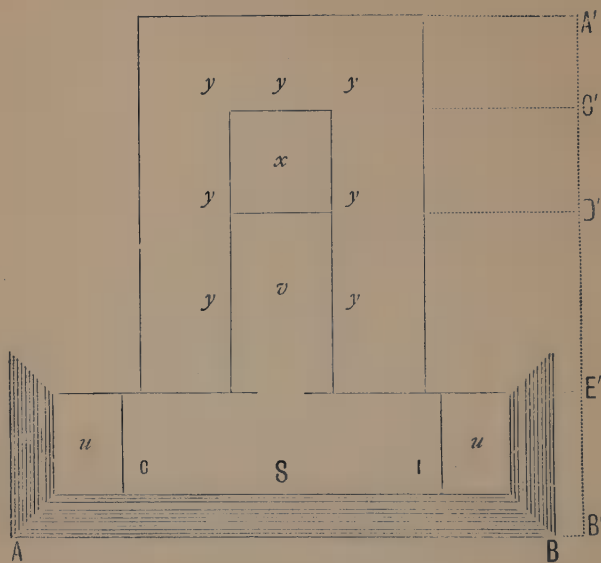
Dimensions of the Sanctuary.—The Porch.—The Holy Place.—The Holy of Holies.—The Captain of the Temple.—The Priests.—The High Priests.—Their Priestly Dress.—Daily Ceremonial.—Sacrifice of the Lamb.—Offering of Incense.

IN the Court of the Priests stood the sanctuary (*ἱερόν*), the Holy Place.

It occupied the north-west corner of the quadrilateral formed by the Temple buildings on the summit of the hill. The sanctuary was of white marble, "covered all over with plates of gold" within and without. The people never went into it; even the court which surrounded it was entered by the priests alone. This Holy Place was simply a symbol, a visible sign, of the presence of Jehovah. It was the house of God in the literal sense of the word. He alone inhabited it. The priests and Levites formed His guard of honour and the people waited in the courts.

The general name, Court of the Temple, was given to all the parts of the sacred enclosure which formed the Courts of Israel and of the Priests. The whole was 187 cubits in length, thus divided: Court of Israel, 11 cubits; Court of the Priests, as far as the altar, 11 cubits; altar, 32 cubits; space between the altar and the sanctuary 22

Plan of the Sanctuary.



- S* 12 steps and door leading into vestibule.
u, u Chambers for the knives.
v The Holy Place.
x The Most Holy Place.
y, y, y, y ... Three tiers of small chambers in the walls.

<i>A' C'</i>	=	20 cubits	=	30 feet.
<i>C' D'</i>	=	20 "	=	30 "
<i>D' E'</i>	=	40 "	=	60 "
<i>E' B'</i>	=	20 "	=	30 "

Total A' B'...100 cubits = 150 feet.

cubits ; length of the sanctuary, 100 cubits ; space between the sanctuary and the outer wall 11 cubits.

The sanctuary was, as we have just said, 100 cubits in length. Its height was the same. We give an exact plan of it. It was composed of three parts—the Porch, the Holy Place, the Holy of Holies. Its breadth (A B in the plan) was 100 cubits. The vestibule was, according to the rabbis, 60 cubits broad.

There remain 40 cubits, 15 for each of the little chambers where the knives were kept, and 5 cubits on each side for the thickness of the walls.

The figures given by Josephus are slightly different. We subjoin a comparative table of his measurements and those of the rabbis :—

Rabbinical Measurements.	Josephus' Measurements.
A B 100 cubits divided thus :	A B 100 cubits divided thus :
" 15 cubits.	" 20 cubits.
C D 60 "	C D 50 "
" 15 "	" 20 "
Two walls 10 "	Two walls 10 "
<hr/> 100 cubits.	<hr/> 100 cubits.

There is reason to think that the Jewish historian is more exact than the Mishnah, the measurements of the latter only coming down to us through the uncertain medium of tradition.

Twelve steps led up to the Porch. Each step was half a cubit. The level on which the sanctuary stood was thus 6 cubits higher than the Court of the Priests and 22 cubits higher than that of the Gate of Susa.

THE HOLY PLACE.

(Hēcāl.)

The Porch had no gate. It was simply an approach to the gate of the Holy Place. The entrance was 55 cubits high and 16 broad. The gate itself, the dimensions of which are unknown, was two-leaved, and covered with plates of gold, and surmounted by a colossal golden vine. A splendid Babylonian curtain of blue, scarlet, white and purple, "embroidered with the constellations of the heavens," hung across the entry into the Holy Place. The Holy Place itself was a large rectangular hall, 20 cubits in breadth and 40 in length. It contained on the north side the table of the shewbread, which stood $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits from the wall; on the south side the candlestick with seven branches, also placed $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits from the wall. Between the two, a little to the east, stood the altar of incense,¹ on which was placed twice a day, morning and evening,² the incense to be burned in honour of Jehovah.³ The altar of incense, covered with gold, stood in front of the curtain through which was the entrance to the Holy of Holies.

THE HOLY OF HOLIES.

The curtain or veil of the Temple was a huge piece of oriental tapestry which hung between the Holy and Most Holy Place. Its measurements are not known. The Holy of Holies was 20 cubits square and 60 cubits high. The entire height of the building was 100 cubits. There was therefore above the Holy and Most Holy Place an upper story ('*Aliyyah*) of 40 cubits,⁴ or

¹ Luke i. 9.² Exod. xxx. 7, 8.³ Babyl., "Yoma," fol. 33, 2.

"Middoth," ch. IV. hal. 6.

rather 34 cubits, for 6 cubits must be deducted for the steps at the entrance.

"From outside," says Josephus, "three stories were visible to the north, south and west. The principal building in the centre rose 40 cubits above these three stories. These three stories measured then 60 cubits, and doubtless contained windows, though these are not mentioned. The roof was flat surrounded by a balustrade of 3 cubits. The gilded spikes of 1 cubit long with which it was studded, prevented the birds from settling on it. The Talmuds tell us that there was an ascent by steps up to this roof.¹

The Holy of Holies was empty. It only contained, instead of the ark which stood there in Solomon's Temple, a stone on which the high priest laid his censer on the great Day of Atonement. This stone was called *shethiyyah*² (foundation).

The charge of all the Temple buildings was entrusted to a person who was called the "captain or prefect of the Temple."³ The keeping of the courts was part of his duty, and he had a certain number of subalterns to assist him.⁴ He had to open and close the gates, and to see that the regulations we have mentioned were so observed, that even the Court of the Gentiles was treated with the respect due to a holy place. The captain and his guards were all Jews. It was of them Pilate said: "Ye have a guard."⁵ We read in the Mishnah: "The prefect of the Temple walks about among the various things under his charge, with

¹ "Middoth," IV. hal. 5; Babyl., "Ta'anith," fol. 29, 1.

² Mishnah "Yoma," ch. V. hal. 2; Babyl., "Yoma," fol. 54 b.

³ Acts iv. 1; "Shekalim," ch. V.

⁴ Luke xxii. 4.

⁵ Matt. xxvii. 65.

lighted torches. If he finds one of his subalterns sleeping, he strikes him with his cane, and he is even allowed to set fire to his garments. Thus it was said one day : 'What is that noise in the court ?' and the answer was, 'It is the crying of a Levite who is being beaten and whose garments are burning.'"¹

THE PRIESTS.

The priests were divided by David,² into twenty-four courses or families, and each week one of them served in his turn in the Temple.³ The course of Abijah, for example, to which Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist,⁴ belonged, occupied the eighth place.⁵ This Abijah was descended from Eleazar, the son of Aaron. Not all, however, who bore the name of priests did service in the Temple ; for the whole race of Aaron formed part of the priesthood, and any one descended or supposed to be descended from the first high priest was a priest. There were therefore an innumerable company of priests, and the greater part of them were poor and ignorant common people. Religious instruction, as a rule, they had none. They formed a great body of inferior clergy, with very little that was interesting about them, and exercising no authority whatever. Those who are spoken of in the Gospel as the "chief priests and elders of the people,"⁶ were of this sort. They belonged to the lower classes and had never frequented the schools of the scribes. They

¹ "Middoth," ch. I. hal. 2.

² 1 Chron. xxiv. 7-19.

⁴ Luke i. 5.

³ 2 Chron. viii. 14.

⁵ 1 Chron. xxiv. 10.

⁶ Matt. xxvi. 3 ; see also Jerus., "Terumoth," fol. 44, 1, where the same expression is used.

were of the priestly race by birth, and that was all. Having no employment, many of them died of hunger. The higher functionaries never gave them any share in the tithes, and they sided with the common people in hatred of the high priests.

No member of this inferior clergy was ever appointed to the Temple service. The Sanhedrim, whose duty it was to choose the officiating priests out of the crowd of priests of all conditions, never dreamed of appointing one of the lower ranks. In order to find favour with the Sanhedrim a man must be rich; then he might be esteemed "without blemish." Once so acknowledged, he was clothed in white; he might sacrifice with his brethren, and there was a day of rejoicing because no spot had been found in one of the descendants of Aaron, the great high priest."

It was not only the poor priests and those of the lower orders who were ignorant. The whole priestly caste aspired to no knowledge beyond the routine of the Temple service. They recited when it was time to recite, sang when it was their duty to sing, offered sacrifices when sacrifices were due; but religious discussion, or the study of texts and commentaries on the law, was beyond them.¹ The priesthood had no longer its ancient authority, and the priest could only attempt to assert it with pilgrims from a distance, who were strangers. He simply did duty at the altar; the first comer who could teach at all supplanted him in the synagogue. Those who officiated in the Temple soon grew rich, for they lived by the altar, and usually professed to be Sadducees by conviction. Averse to all innovations, conservative by interest, they held themselves aloof from the doctors of the law, who from

¹ "Yoma," ch. I.

Moses' seat in the synagogue, became every day more numerous and more formidable rivals.¹

At the head of the sacerdotal college was the high priest; and his deterioration of character was the most striking of all. He had long been a Sadducee, for the sons of Zadok had for ages made a traffic of the high office. It had become merchandise put up to auction, which they alone were wealthy enough to purchase. In the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, Joshua, called Jason, the brother of Onias, offered the king for the nomination 360 talents of silver and 80 from various revenues, besides 150 talents for permission to open a gymnasium in Jerusalem;² but Menelaus offered 300 more and got the place.³ As soon as he was appointed, he stole the golden vessels from the Temple and sold them.

These sordid mercenaries made the people groan under their taxation. One Abba Saul composed a satirical song upon the degradation of the priesthood. It became popular, and has come down to us through the Talmuds.⁴ It runs as follows:—

“Woe to the family of Boethos, woe! because they smite with their rods! Woe to the family of Hanan,⁵ woe! because they hiss

¹ The Levites mentioned in the Gospel (Luke x. 32), were originally of the tribe of Levi, which according to the law was the only priestly tribe. In the first century this name was reserved for those members of the tribe of Levi who were not priests properly so called. For all the Levites were not priests, though all were engaged in the Temple service and looked after matters not directly belonging to the priests.

² 2 Macc. iv. 7 and foll.

³ “Ant. Jud.,” XII. 5, § 1. On the purchase of the priesthood for money, see Mishnah, “Yebamoth,” VI. 4.

⁴ “Pesachim, 57 *a*.”

⁵ He who is spoken of in the Gospels as Annas.

as vipers ! Woe to the family of Kataros (Cantheras), because of their slanderous pens ! Woe to the family of Ismael ben Phabi, because of the weight of their fists ! They themselves are high priests ; their sons are treasurers ; their sons-in-law keepers of the Temple, and their servants smite the people with their rods."

Josephus does not spare the high priests.¹ They appear in his writings as great lords, gorged with riches, and living luxurious lives. In the country districts, their agents enforced the payment of tithes even by the very poor, and beat with rods any who refused. Their table was served with reckless extravagance,² and in the Temple these sacred butchers wore silken gloves, in order not to touch the victims with their aristocratic hands.³

The high priests were appointed by the government, and their office was supposed to be for life ; but in reality they were often deposed and others put in their place. Josephus enumerates twenty-eight between the accession of Herod the Great and the destruction of Jerusalem. We are able to trace twenty-seven, whose names we subjoin :⁴—

High priests nominated by Herod the Great (37–34 B.C.).

1. Ananelus (37–36).⁵

2. Aristobulus (35). Aristobulus was the legitimate heir to the priesthood as a member of the Asmonean family, but he was only sixteen years old. Herod had therefore set up Ananelus. Aristobulus was the young brother of Mariamne Maccabee, the wife of Herod,

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XX. 9, § 2.

² "Pesachim," 57 a.

³ "Midrash ěcāh," I. 16.

⁴ We have already given a summary of this list in our Table of Civil and Religious Authorities. Book I. chap. iii.

⁵ "Ant. Jud.," XV. 2, § 4 ; 3 § 1.

and he was thus the king's brother-in-law. Herod nominated him at the instance of Alexandra his mother-in-law, and afterwards caused him to be murdered.¹ Ananelus then became high priest for the second time (34, 35).²

3. Jesus the son of Phabet.³ Herod took away the high priesthood from him to give it to his father-in-law, Simon, at the time of his marriage with Mariamne II.

4. Simon, son of Boethus, and father of Queen Mariamne II. (about 24-5 B.C.).⁴ According to other authorities Boethus was the king's father-in-law, and was himself made high priest.

5. Mattathias, son of Theophilus (5-4 B.C.).⁵

6. Joazar, son of Boethus.⁶

High Priests nominated by Archelaus (4 B.C.-6 A.D.).

7. Eleazar, son of Boethus⁷ (4 B.C.).

8. Jesus, son of Sie.⁸

Joazar reappointed⁹

These last were very insignificant high priests and had no influence. We believe (and have given the reasons for our opinion in the fourth chapter of the first book) that the famous Hillel was at this time president of the Sanhedrim. He came to Jerusalem 36 B.C., and probably began his presidency about the year 30 B.C. He died, some say, 5 B.C., others 10 A.D.¹⁰

¹ "Ant. Jud.," XV. 3, § 1-3.

² *Ibid.*, 3, § 3.

³ *Ibid.*, 9, § 3.

⁴ "Ant. Jud.," XV. 9, § 3; XVII. 4, § 2; comp. XVIII. 5, § 1; XIX. 6, § 2.

Ibid., XVII. 4, § 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 6, § 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 13, § 1.

Ibid.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 1, § 1; 2, § 1.

¹⁰ On the date of Hillel's death, see Book ii. chap. ii.

High Priests nominated by Cyrenius (6 A.D.).

9. Ananus (in Josephus), Annas (N.T.);¹ in Hebrew Hanan, the son of Seth (6-15 A.D.).²

Hanan was, in our opinion, the first high priest who was president of the Sanhedrim. Hillel was dead; the government had just passed into the hands of the Romans, who were desirous of themselves controlling the Sanhedrim, by keeping its presidency in their own hands. Hanan was powerful; the Pharisees were officially in a minority: all this seems to render probable the transmission of the presidency.

High Priests appointed by Valerius Gratus (15-26 A.D.).

10. Ismael, son of Phabi (15, 16 A.D.).³

11. Eleazar, son of Ananus (Hanan), (16, 17 A.D.).⁴

12. Simon, son of Camithus (17, 18 A.D.).⁵

13. Joseph, surnamed Caiaphas⁶ (18-36 A.D.);⁷ Caiaphas was Annas' son-in-law.⁸

High Priests appointed by Vitellius (35-39 A.D.).

14. Jonathan, son of Ananus (36, 37 A.D.).⁹

15. Theophilus, son of Ananus (37, 38 A.D.).¹⁰

High Priests appointed by Agrippa I. (41-44 A.D.).

16. Simon Cantheras, son of Boethus (41, 42 A.D.).¹¹

¹ Annas is the name familiar to us.

² "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 2, § 1, 2; comp. XX. 9, § 1; "B. J.," V. 12, § 2; Luke iii. 2; John xviii. 13-24; Acts iv. 6.

³ "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 2, § 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Called Caiaphas in the N. T. Matt. xxvi. 3, 57; Luke iii. 2; John xi. 49; xviii. 13, 14; Acts iv. 6.

⁷ "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 2, § 2; 4, § 3.

⁸ John xviii. 13.

⁹ "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 4, § 3; 5, § 3. Comp. XIX. 6, § 4; "B. J.," II. 12, § 5, 6; XIII. 3; "Ant. Jud.," XX. 8, § 5.

¹⁰ "Ant. Jud.," XVIII. 5, § 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XIX. 6, § 2.

17. Matthias, son of Ananus.¹

18. Elioneus, son of Cantheras.²

High Priests appointed by Herod of Chalcis (44-48 A.D.).

19. Joseph, son of Camus,³ or Camydus.

20. Ananias, son of Nebedus (47-59 A.D.).⁴

High Priests appointed by Agrippa II. (50-100 A.D.).

21. Ismael, son of Phabi (59-61 A.D.).⁵ This Ismael was famous for his luxurious living. The Talmuds say that he required for his maintenance three hundred calves, three hundred casks of wine, forty *sa'āh* of young pigeons, etc., etc.; but they do not say how long this provision was to last. It is also said that his mother made him a cassock which cost one hundred *mānīm*, and that he only wore it once.

22. Joseph Cabi, son of Simeon the high priest (61, 62).⁶

23. Ananus or Hanan, son of Ananus (63 A.D.). His priesthood only lasted three months.⁷

24. Jesus, the son of Damneus (62, 63 A.D.).⁸

25. Jesus, son of Gamala, or Gamaliel (63-65 A.D.).⁹ According to rabbinical tradition, his wife Martha was of the family of Boethus.

26. Matthias, son of Theophilus (65, 66 A.D.).¹⁰

High Priest appointed by the People during the war
(67, 68 A.D.).

27. Phanas or Phannias, son of Samuel.¹¹

¹ "Ant. Jud.," 6, § 4. ² *Ibid.*, 8, § 1. ³ *Ibid.*, XX. 1, § 3; 5, § 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* Comp. XX. 6, § 2; "B. J.," II. 12, § 6; Acts xxiii. 2; xxiv. 1. ⁵ *Ibid.*, XX. 8, § 8, § 11. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 8, § 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 9, § 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ "Ant. Jud.," XX. 9, § 4-7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, § 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10, § 10; "B. J.," IV. 3, § 8.

The reader will have remarked that the high priests whose names we have just given almost all belong to two or three families; the family of Phabi (the 3rd, 10th, and 21st high priests); that of Boethus (the 4th, 6th, 7th, 16th, 18th, 25th); the family of Ananus (the 9th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 17th, 23rd, 26th); and that of Camithus (12th, 19th, 22nd). Ananelus, the first high priest, who was from Babylon; Aristobulus, the second, who was the last of the Maccabees; and Phanas, the twenty-seventh, who was high priest during the revolution; and the 5th, 8th, 20th, and 24th are the only exceptions. There were then certain recognised families from which the high priests were taken. Josephus speaks of the *υἱοὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων*, and according to the Acts of the Apostles, all the members of these families had a right to sit in the Sanhedrim.¹ The Mishnah gives judicial authority also to the *Benē Coanim Gedolim* (sons of the high priests).

The dress of the priests, in the exercise of their office, consisted of four pieces:—1st. Linen drawers (*Micnesēbad*).² Josephus says that after putting the feet into these drawers, they were drawn up to the loins and fastened round the waist. He says nothing of their length. 2nd. The cassock (*Cuttōneth*).³ This, Josephus tells us, had sleeves; it was narrow, and of a single piece. According to the rabbis, the sleeves were separate and sewn into the cassock. It opened wide at the neck, and was drawn together at the shoulders with cords. 3rd. The girdle (*Abnēt*) of embroidery of various colours.⁴ This was wound two or three times round the body. Josephus tells us: "The ends were tied in a knot in front, and hung down to the feet." When the

¹ Acts iv. 6.

² Exod. xxviii. 42.

³ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxviii. 8 and xxxix. 29.

priest was offering sacrifice, he threw these ends over his left shoulder. 4th. The mitre, or turban (*Migbá'ah*, or *Miqnepheth*). Moses describes "two head-tires,"¹ but Josephus only mentions one.

The high priest wore the same dress, but around his turban was a second band of violet colour. Also he had: 1st. An upper robe wider than the *Cuttōneth* and sleeveless. This was called the *Mé'il*, was of violet colour, and around the bottom were little bells of gold, the ringing of which announced his entrance into the sanctuary and his exit from it. 2nd. The ephod, a shorter garment, made of fine twined linen intermingled with blue and purple and scarlet. According to Josephus, the ephod had sleeves,² and was composed of two pieces, one for the back the other for the chest, joined on the shoulders by two clasps. On these clasps were two precious stones, on which were engraved the names of the twelve tribes, six on the one side and six on the other. Lastly, the high priest wore the breastplate, a large square piece of the same stuff as the ephod, and suspended over the chest. It was double, and formed a sort of bag fastened to the ephod by rings of gold and cords of violet. On this breastplate were twelve precious stones, set in gold, and arranged in rows of three. The names of the twelve tribes were on them. In the bag of the breastplate the Urim and Thummim were kept.³ What these really were is doubtful.⁴

On the great Day of Atonement the high priest wore a simple white robe.

¹ Exod. xxxix. 28.

² According to Exod. xxviii. the ephod had no sleeves.

³ Exod. xxviii. 30.

⁴ The words *Ūrīm* and *Thummīm* mean Lights and Perfections.

It must be observed that the priests in the Temple always walked with bare feet. The ground was holy, and it would have been profaned if the priests had kept on their sandals. This custom, which dated from Moses himself, has been kept up by the Mussulmans. The obligation to go barefoot was not without its drawback as a matter of health. This was understood, and medical attendance was provided in the Temple. "The priests walk about without shoes," we read in the Talmuds.¹ They use much water, and wear only a cassock. Hence, they are in feeble health, and suffer in their bowels." The doctor who was in special attendance upon them was therefore irreverently called "the bowels-doctor."

THE DAILY CEREMONIAL.

It is easy to represent to ourselves the ordinary observances in the Temple, when there was no great festival. In the Court of the Gentiles, as we have said, there was continual going and coming. It was a place of public resort, the rendezvous of all disputants, and in the first century these were very numerous. There was constantly heard the clinking of coin on the tables of the money-changers, and the bellowing of the beasts brought up for sacrifice.

The Court of the Women was a scarcely less noisy thoroughfare. Through it the Israelites passed to the Chamber of the Nazarites, or to the lepers' quarter. Every morning there was a solemn service, for the celebration of which the crowd assembled in the Women's Court and the Court of Israel. The principal feature of this service was the daily sacrifice of the lamb. For this the priests were preparing from break of day,

¹ "Shekalim," ch. V.

They began by bathing, and then put on their priestly dress. Some, who were designated for this service, went up on the roof of the Temple and watched for the moment when the rays of the rising sun first struck the city of Hebron to the south-east. As soon as it appeared, they cried: "It is day at Hebron," and they sounded the trumpet to awaken the holy city.¹ The religious service began directly after, and the lamb was slain.² After the sacrifice, a service was held in the hall of the Sanhedrim, much of the same kind as the morning worship in the synagogue. A priest in the hearing of the people recited the *Shema'* and the *Alēnū* and read the law aloud. Then came the offering of incense on the golden altar in the sanctuary. The incense used in the Temple was composed of four perfumes—*stacte*, *onycha*, *galbanum*, and pure *frankincense*, to which a little salt was always added.³

The priest designated by lot to burn the incense, took a large vessel of gold in which was a phial containing the incense.⁴ Another priest received a little golden shovel, in which he was to carry the sacred fire, and for this purpose he went up to the brazen altar on which the wood was lighted for the burnt offering, stirred it, took some of the burning embers, and carried them away in the shovel in his hand. He had bells to his robe, like the high priest, and these rang as he passed from the altar to the porch of the sanctuary. The priests and Levites then gathered round him, and

¹ "Yoma," 3, 1.

² We need not repeat the description of this sacrifice, so minutely given in Exodus.

³ Exod. xxx. 23, 24, 34, 35. It was forbidden to use these perfumes or the holy oil for ordinary purposes (Exod. xxx. 32).

⁴ "Tamid," ch. V. hal. 4, 5, 6.

all passed together into the Holy Place, the priest who bore the incense and the one who carried the burning embers going first. The people assembled in the court knew by the sound of the bells that the priests were entering the sanctuary, and that the service was about to commence. The priest who carried the embers placed them on the altar of incense, spread them out, worshipped God, and passed out. The priest who was to offer the incense lifted the phial out of the golden vessel, which he handed to a young Levite who waited on him. He then sprinkled the incense upon the burning embers and went out.

All this service was conducted under the direction of a superior priest, who presided over each part of it, and without whose orders nothing was done. Thus the priest who sprinkled the incense only did so at the words: "Present the offering." When all were gone out, the presiding priest remained a moment alone in the Holy Place, the priests under his orders awaiting him without, between the porch of the sanctuary and the great altar of burnt offering. It is evident, from the narrative in Luke,¹ that Zacharias was on that occasion the presiding priest. The time the priest remained behind alone was usually very short, and if it was prolonged, the people and the other priests wondered.² One day the prayer of the presiding priest was long, says one of the Talmuds,³ and his colleagues were on the point of going in to see what had happened to him. At length he came out. It was Simon the Just; and they asked him: "Why didst thou tarry so long?" He replied: "I was praying that the Temple of our God might not be destroyed;" to whom they

¹ Luke i. 9.

² *Ibid.*, i. 21.

³ Jerus., "Yoma," fol. 43, 2.

rejoined: "It was not fitting, nevertheless, that thou shouldest tarry so long."

During all the time that the incense was burning, the priests who attended to the music played upon an instrument called the *Magrēfah*, and the people continued in prayer. When the sacrifice and the petitions were ended, the priests placed upon the altar the parts of the lamb which were to be consumed. The Levites chanted the psalms, with an accompaniment of harps and cymbals; then a priest blessed the wine and poured some of it on the altar.¹ The sound of the trumpet proclaimed that the morning service was over.

In the afternoon, at three o'clock,² prayer was again offered for the people. This was a short service, and there was no sacrifice. It was a vesper service, and deemed less important than that of the morning. The priest pronounced, from the platform of which we have spoken, the following benediction: "The Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make His face to shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace."³

M. Renan says, in his "Vie de Jésus," that Luke mistakes the Temple for an oratory when he makes the Pharisee and the publican go up there to pray.⁴ It is M. Renan himself who is in error. The Israelites went up to the Temple to pray, either at Nicanor's Gate or in the Court of Israel.⁵ R. Joshua ben Levi says: "He who stands in prayer ought first to be seated; for it is written, 'Blessed are they that sit in Thy house.'"

During the rest of the day sacrifices were offered

¹ Mishnah, "Tamid," IV., V., VII.; Babyl., "Beracoth," 11 b.

² Acts iii. 1.

³ Num. vi. 24-26.

⁴ Luke xviii. 10.

⁵ Jerus., "Beracoth," fol. 8, 4.

for individuals,¹ one of the most important of these ceremonies being the offering made by women after childbirth. This consisted of a pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons, where the offerer was poor. These birds were brought from the cedars of Annas, on the Mount of Olives. They were sold in the Court of the Gentiles, and were handed over to the priest at the Gate of Oblation, or the Gate of the Women. One of the doves was offered as a burnt offering, and the other as a sacrifice for sin.² Beside this act of purification, the child was brought to the Temple, if it was the firstborn. The parents stood at the eastern gate, called Nicanor's Gate, and were there sprinkled with the blood of the victims.³ There Mary stood; and there Jesus, the new-born child, was presented to the priest.

Such was the Temple at Jerusalem; such were its courts, its priests, its ceremonies. The people believed that all these buildings and all these rites were indestructible. They thought that the priesthood was eternal, and that the daily sacrifice would be celebrated for ever and ever.⁴ It is curious to contrast this popular belief with the saying of Christ: "There shall not be left one stone upon another." When Christ uttered these words, it was ninety years since Pompey had entered the Holy of Holies, and profaned it with infidel feet. Forty years later, this Most Holy Place was itself destroyed, and the words of Christ were fulfilled.

¹ Except, of course, the public sacrifice of the second lamb, which was offered between the two evenings (Exod. xxix. 39), that is to say, after sunset and before night.

² Lev. xii. 8. It should be observed that Mary, the mother of Jesus, offered, according to Luke's account (Luke ii. 24), a sacrifice for sin.

³ "Tamid," ch. V. hal. 6.

Book of Enoch, c. cxiii. 7.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FEASTS.

The Passover.—The Time of its Observance.—Its Duration.—The Afternoon of the 14th Nisan.—The Evening of the Same Day.—The Paschal Meal.—The Institution of the Lord's Supper.—Pentecost.—The Tabernacles.—The Great Day of Atonement.—The Dedication.—Purim.

THE great feasts were all celebrated in the Temple. Hence the Israelites went up to Jerusalem from all parts of Palestine. A great number of those who were "scattered abroad" also repaired to the Holy City at these sacred seasons, and we have already described the extraordinary concourse of people in Jerusalem on such occasions.¹ The confusion in the streets was extreme. Strangers lodged wherever they could; under

¹ "B. J.," II. 14, § 3; VI. 9, § 3. "King Agrippa, desiring to know how many people came up to Jerusalem for the Passover, said to the priests: 'Set me aside a kidney of each lamb that is sacrificed;' and they set apart six hundred thousand kidneys. If we allow ten persons for a lamb (and the rabbis reckoned forty or fifty), we have a total of six millions. Once, tradition says, the Temple could not contain the crowd, and one old man was trampled to death." We must make allowance in this narrative, which Lightfoot takes from the Midrash *ēcāh* (fol. 59, 1, 2), for the ordinary exaggeration of the Jews. Still there can be no doubt that there was an enormous concourse of people in Jerusalem during the days of unleavened bread.

tents,¹ or any sort of temporary shelter, or in the villages around, if they had any friends there. The Passover feast especially drew people from all parts. Even Gentiles came out of curiosity; it was *the* time to visit Jerusalem. The Jews themselves, those from Galilee for example, came up to the holy city in caravans, and sang on the road what were called the pilgrims' psalms.² Boys from twelve years of age began to make these solemn journeys.³ The Passover was a commemorative feast, in celebration of the deliverance from Egypt. It was observed at a fixed date, and lasted seven days, from the 15th to the 21st Nisan.⁴

These seven days were called the days of unleavened bread (*ἄζυμος*). The first and last were the most solemn. As the Jews reckoned the day, not from the morning, but the evening before, the feast really began at sunset on the 13th Nisan, and it was in the afternoon of the 14th that the paschal lamb or kid was sacrificed in the Temple.

Let us go back in thought to the memorable day—the 14th Nisan of the year 30. Jesus had entrusted to two of His apostles the duty of preparing the feast.⁵ The disciples of the rabbis were in the habit of offering the Passover sacrifice and preparing the sacred meal for their masters.⁶ Peter and John therefore went to choose, and to buy, with money out of the common

¹ It is possible that Jesus may have had a tent on the Mount of Olives (John viii. 1).

² From cxx. to cxxxv., called Songs of *Maaloth*.

³ Luke ii. 42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 43.

⁵ Mark xiv. 12, 13; Matt. xxvi. 19.

⁶ "Pesachim," ch. VIII. hal. 2. "If one says to his disciple, Go, sacrifice the Passover for me, and he sacrifices a kid, let him eat of it."

purse, a spotless lamb. According to custom,¹ they brought it to the Temple on their shoulders, and handed it over as the paschal lamb to the priests at the entrance of the Priests' Court.² These took it and offered it upon the altar of burnt offerings. There would be a crowd of Jews around them, each bringing an animal devoted to death.³ The people flocked into the approaches to the Temple and into the Court of the Gentiles. The signal of each sacrifice was given by the blast of a trumpet. The blood, caught by a priest, was by him poured out at the foot of the altar and ran away through underground channels into the brook Kedron. The animal was skinned and cleaned; its inwards and the fat were thrown into the fire. A prayer was uttered, and then the apostles, taking up the body of the lamb, carried it away and prepared the sacred meal in the upper room of some unknown disciple, who was expecting the Master, and knew that He would come that night to his house.

The animal was to be roasted, not boiled.⁴ No bone of it was to be broken, and what was not eaten was to be burned.

In the evening, Jesus came with the ten. The room was furnished with carpets,⁵ on which they sat down, or rather half reclined, according to Eastern custom, the

¹ "Pesachim," ch. VI. hal. 1.

² Maimon., Mishnēh Torah, "Korban Pesach," ch. I.

³ According to John's Gospel, Christ ate the Passover with His disciples on the 13th Nisan, and not on the 14th. We ask those who accept this date how they imagine the apostles could have got the Passover lamb slain before the appointed day. Such an act would have been sacrilege. The lamb must be killed on the 14th and eaten the same day.

⁴ Exod. xii. 9.

⁵ Mark xiv. 15. ἀνώγειν μέγα ἐστρωμένον.

left arm supporting the weight of the body. John, who sat beside the Master, "leaned on His bosom."¹

Formerly it was the custom to take the Passover meal standing, staff in hand, with loins girt as for a journey, in order to reproduce in all its details the scene of the departure from Egypt² on the night of the deliverance of Israel, but this custom had long fallen into disuse. There was a fixed order of ritual for the sacred feast. The way in which it was observed in the first century is described in the Talmud with the utmost minuteness. Four times the cup went round among the guests. He who presided at the feast first formally announced that it had begun, pronounced a formula of blessing over the cup, drank of it himself, and passed it to those present.³ Then all washed their hands. It was while this first cup was going round that Jesus said : "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer : for I say unto you, I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. And He received a cup, and when He had given thanks, He said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves : for I say unto you, I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come."⁴ This has no reference to the institution of the Lord's Supper, but is simply the first cup of the paschal meal. After this cup had been passed round, bitter herbs were brought, and these were eaten with unleavened bread ; the bread first, "for," say the Talmuds, "it is not the custom for men to eat the herbs before the meal."⁵

These bitter herbs, steeped in vinegar or salt and

¹ John xiii. 23, 25.

² "Pesachim," ch. X. hal. 2.

³ "Pesachim," ch. X. hal. 2.

⁴ Exod. xii. 11.

⁵ Luke xxii. 15, 16.

water, called to mind the hardships endured of old in Egypt.

At this point one of those present asked him who was presiding, what was the meaning of these things which were done. The question was put twice, and between the two enquiries, the wine of the second cup was poured out. He who presided answered: "This is the Passover which we eat, because God passed over the houses of our fathers in Egypt;" and over the bitter herbs, he added: "We eat these bitter herbs, because the Egyptians made the life of our fathers bitter in Egypt."

Then he took the unleavened bread in his hands, and said: "We eat this unleavened bread, because there was no time to leaven the dough before God revealed Himself to our fathers and redeemed them. We ought to praise, laud, honour and magnify Him who did such great and marvellous things for our fathers, and who has brought us out of bondage into liberty, out of sorrow into joy, out of darkness into great light. Let us say then: Hallelujah! Praise ye the Lord!" The whole assembly then sang Psalms cxiii., cxiv. The Pharisees of the school of Shammaï stopped at the close of Psalm cxiii.; those of Hillel's school went on to the end of Psalm cxiv. This singing, which was called *Hallel*, was repeated at the close of the meal.¹ After the chant, the one who had spoken said again: "Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, King eternal, who hast redeemed us, who didst redeem our fathers from Egypt, and who hast brought us hither this evening that we may eat this unleavened bread and these bitter herbs." The second cup was then drunk. The hands were again washed, and the president took two loaves,

¹ "Pesachim," ch. IX. hal. 3.

broke one and placed the pieces upon the other loaf which was still unbroken, saying: "Blessed be He who giveth the pure bread." Then he dipped the morsels in the dish of bitter herbs, and said, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, the King eternal, who hast sanctified us by Thy precepts, and hast taught us to keep this feast."

He then ate some bread, then some herbs, after giving thanks for each separately. The same was done when the lamb was divided and passed round among the guests.

It appears clear from the text of the Gospels that Christ instituted the Lord's Supper at two separate times—the communion of the bread during the Passover meal, and that of the wine after it.¹ It was then at the very moment when He had just dipped the morsel of broken bread in the bitter herbs, that Jesus instituted the communion of the bread. Mark says² it was "*as they were eating*." The lamb having been eaten, the Passover feast was considered to be over. The third cup was then passed round, which was called "the cup of blessing." It was at the passing of this cup that Jesus instituted the communion of the wine.³

Then came the fourth and last cup; the second part of the *Hallel*, Psalm cxiv.-cxviii.,⁴ was sung, and all was finished.

The next day, the 15th Nisan, was the first and

¹ After supper He took the cup (Luke xxii. 20), which is not said of the bread. This He took during supper (Luke xxii. 19). See also 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25, "the cup *after* supper."

² Mark xiv. 22.

³ "The cup of blessing which we bless," says St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 16; xi. 23-26). On the cup of blessing, see Scholten, "*Revue de théol. de Strasbourg*," 1866, p. 66.

⁴ Mark xiv. 26.

great day of the feast. No one was allowed to work on that day or on the last day.

On the 16th, a sheaf of the new harvest was offered in the sanctuary, for the Passover was also the feast of the beginning of harvest. The Sanhedrim formally declared the harvest begun. The obligation to eat unleavened bread during the seven days was rigid, and during this time no one was allowed to leave the city. It has been asked, How then could the two disciples be going to Emmaus? ¹ But it must be observed that this was on the evening of the third day, that is to say, at the commencement of the fourth day, and the rabbis did not lay great stress upon the obligation to stay within the city beyond the third day. "It is more praiseworthy," they said, "to remain the seven days in Jerusalem. But people may leave on the third day if necessary." The *Mo'ed Katan*, which treats of what is allowable and what forbidden during the feasts, condemns leaving Jerusalem chiefly because it would mean absence on the last day, "which is the great day of the feast." It will be remembered the disciples returned from Emmaus to the Holy City the same night.

We find nothing either in the Talmuds or in Josephus about the custom of releasing a prisoner at the Passover feast.² It is probable that this custom may have been recently introduced by the Romans, when they took away from the Sanhedrim the right of executing a capital sentence.

We shall only mention the feast of Pentecost, for it is not our intention to dwell in detail on the Jewish feasts, but simply to explain certain chapters of the New Testament by the aid of passages either from Josephus or from the Talmuds, which seem to throw

¹ Luke xxiv. 13.

² John xviii. 39

light upon them. The feast of Pentecost is only incidentally mentioned in one verse of the Book of Acts.¹ This feast was kept on the fiftieth day after the 16th Nisan, that is to say on the 5th, 6th, or 7th Sivan, according to the combination of deficient or full months.² It was rather a civil than a religious celebration, for it was primarily a harvest festival.³ It seems to have become the custom to commemorate also at this time the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai.⁴ Moses left no such injunction, but the law, having been given fifty days after the coming out of Egypt, the date of its promulgation coincided with that of the Day of Pentecost.⁵ The Jews called it the feast of Weeks,⁶ or of the first fruits.⁷ Josephus calls it *Asartha*, that is to say, the feast of the gathering together, and the same expression is found in the Talmuds.⁸ He calls it also Πεντηκοστή,⁹ and this name it retained when it became a Christian feast. He tells us that it was observed with "joy and eagerness." Its chief feature was the offering in the Temple of a new cake, two loaves of leavened bread, and a he goat for a sin offering.¹⁰

We shall speak more fully of the feast of Tabernacles, which is mentioned in the Gospels,¹¹ and which was also a more important festival than Pentecost.

It was celebrated in the autumn, and commemorated the journeyings of the Israelites for forty years in the

¹ Acts ii. 1.

² See Book I. chap. xi.

³ Exod. xxiii. 16.

⁴ See Racine's "Athalie," act i.

⁵ Exod. xix. 1, 16.

⁶ Deut. xvi. 9; Exod. xxxiv. 22.

⁷ Num. xxviii. 26.

⁸ Mishnah, "Rōsh hash-shanah," I, 2, "Chagigah," 2, 4.

⁹ "Ant. Jud.," III. 10, § 6; XIV. 13, § 4.

¹⁰ Lev. xxiii.; Num. xxviii.; Deut. xvi. 10.

¹¹ John vii. 2.

wilderness. It was at the same time a rejoicing at the completion of harvest and of the vintage. Lastly, it marked the beginning of the civil year, the first day of which was the 1st Tishri,¹ which corresponds to the end of September and the beginning of October.

The trumpets in the Temple solemnly proclaimed the beginning of the year.² The 2nd Tishri was a holiday. The 10th was the great Day of Atonement or of Pardon.³ For six days already, that is since the 4th Tishri, the high priest had been away from his house and had remained in a special chamber in the Temple,⁴ for it was necessary that he should sanctify himself and guard himself from all defilement. An ordinary priest took his place in the Sanhedrim and elsewhere during this time of retirement. The 5th, 6th, 7th Tishri he himself offered the regular morning sacrifice, burned the incense, trimmed the lamps, and laid on the altar the head and the quarters of the victim.⁵ Some old men of the section *Bēth Dīn*⁶ of the Sanhedrim assembled together and read the usual service in his presence. On the eighth day the old men left the service to the elders among the priests, who adjured the people to perform their duties on the tenth day.

During the nine days which preceded the solemn fast the people were allowed to eat as usual; but on the ninth day they were to eat sparingly, that they might be able to keep awake, for they were to watch all night. The priests went about among them and if they found any one sleeping, they awoke him by making a noise or speaking to him. At length the tenth day arrived

¹ "Rōsh hash-shanah," fol. 2, 1.

² Lev. xxiii. 24.

³ It was also called the Fast. See Acts xxvii. 9.

⁴ "Yoma," ch. I. hal. 1.

⁵ "Yoma," fol. 14, 1. ⁶ See Book I. ch. iv. : The Sanhedrim.

—the day of the solemn fast, of Atonement, of Pardon. The high priest went for the only time in the whole year into the Most Holy Place. The people observed a strict fast throughout the day. They were forbidden to eat, drink, wash, or anoint themselves with oil.¹ The holy anointing sanctioned for the Sabbath day, was forbidden on the Day of Atonement.² On the 11th, 12th, 13th Tishri, the people gathered together again to sanctify themselves, and also to prepare the booths, and branches of willow and palm which would soon be required. Those who had incurred defilement through contact with a dead body, had been for seven days purifying themselves in Jerusalem.

On the 15th, the first day of the feast of Tabernacles, thirteen bullocks were sacrificed, and the night had to be passed within the city.

On the 16th, the second day of the feast, twelve bullocks were offered.

On the 17th, the third day of the feast, eleven, and so on, the number lessening day by day till the eighth and last day, when only one bullock was sacrificed. As in the Passover feast, the first and last days were the most solemn.³ They were called days of rest.

Each of the eight days of the feast was marked by great demonstrations of joy. Every family abode in leafy tabernacles. Hosannahs were sung and palm-branches waved,⁴ and every day a libation of wine was poured over the altar, from two silver vessels, as well as libations of water drawn in a golden pitcher from the

¹ An exception was made in the case of the king and of a bride. The latter was permitted to wash her face, on the ground that she must look pleasant to her husband.

² Talm. Jerus., "Shabbath," fol. 12, 1. ³ John vii. 37.

⁴ Mishnah, "Succah," ch. III. hal. 9.

fountain of Siloam, by a priest, and carried with great ceremony to the Temple. The priest went up to the altar; the people said, "Lift up thy hand," and he poured the water from the fountain of Siloam toward the west, and the wine toward the east.

In the evening¹ two lamps in the Court of the Women were lighted, and a sacred dance, of comparatively recent origin,² was performed to the sound of music. It was called, "Water of Libation," and is thus minutely described in the Talmuds.³ "On the evening of the first day of the feast, the people go down into the Court of the Women, where a great scene is prepared. Golden lamps are fastened to the walls, and little cups of gold are suspended from them. Four steps lead up to them, and by these four young priests go up, carrying in their hands flagons containing 120 logs of oil. They pour this oil into these little lamps. When they are lighted they shine so brightly that all Jerusalem is illuminated by them. Pious and grave men dance before them, carrying lighted torches in their hands, and singing hymns and doxologies. The Levites with their cymbals and other instruments, stand in great numbers upon the fifteen steps which separate the Court of the Women from the Court of Israel, and sing a hymn. Two priests stand at the gate at the top of these fifteen steps, each with a trumpet in his hand. At a signal from the captain of the Temple, they sound the trumpet. They descend and sound again upon the last

¹ The Talmuds say, every evening; Maimonides says, only the first day.

² It dates from Alexander Jannæus, and was instituted in memory of the unanimous protest of the people against a profanation of the east of which that king had been guilty.

³ "Succah," ch. V. hal. 2.

step. They do the same in the Court of the Women. In the Court of the Gentiles, they continue to sound the trumpet as far as the eastern gate. There they turn their torches from east to west, and say, "Our fathers worshipped the sun in this place, their back turned to the Temple and facing the east, but we turn our faces toward God."

On the seventh day they stripped the leaves from the willow branches with which the booths had been covered. The Pharisees attached such importance to this act that they even allowed it to be done if the seventh day fell on the Sabbath. Subsequently they arranged that it should never fall on that day.

The last and great day of the feast interests us particularly, because it is specially mentioned in the Gospel.¹ This, as we have said, was the eighth day,² "the holy ending of the year," says Josephus. The people forsook the leafy tabernacles and repaired in crowds to the Temple. Unhappily, the Talmuds tell us nothing of the sacred acts performed on this eighth day. It would even seem to have been less solemn than the others, since only one bullock was sacrificed on it. In the "Succah," however, it is called, though without any reason given, "the last and *good* day of the feast."

It is noticeable that it was during these days, when the water was poured upon the altar, and the lamps were lighted in the Temple, that Jesus uttered the words: "If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink,"³ and "I am the Light of the world."⁴

¹ John vii. 37.

² Num. xxix. 12, 35. The feast, properly speaking, ended on the evening of the seventh day, and the eighth was an additional day, "a conclusion," as Josephus says. ³ John vii. 37, 38.

⁴ John viii. 12. M. Godet has brought this out with great force and beauty in his remarkable Commentary on St. John.

The feast of the Dedication began on the 25th of the month Kislev,¹ and lasted eight days. It was instituted in commemoration of the triumph of Judas Maccabeus, who had restored the Temple after his victory over Antiochus Epiphanes.² One of the Talmuds speaks of it as follows: "The rabbis teach that on the 25th day of the month Kislev³ begins the eight-day commemoration of the Dedication. During this time no one may be sorrowful or fast; for when the Greeks came into the Temple, they defiled all the oil which was in the Temple, but the great king of the Asmoneans conquered them. They sought and found just one vial of oil which had been placed under the seal of the high priest, and in it was only oil enough for one day. But a miracle was wrought, and the oil lasted eight days. The year following, a feast was observed in memory of this miracle." Maimonides repeats the same thing, and adds:⁴ "These eight days are days of joy; lights are lighted at the doors of the houses for eight nights in remembrance of the miracle. If there are many inhabitants in one house, the one light may suffice for all. Nevertheless, he who would honour the commandment will light one for every person in the house, and even more; for the number of lights is doubled the second night, tripled the third, and so on. For example, if there are ten people in a house, ten lights will be lighted the first night, twenty the second, thirty the third, and eighty on the eighth night." It must be observed that the Feast of the Dedication was not kept at Jerusalem and in the Temple only, but throughout the land.

¹ John x. 22. ² 1 Macc. iv. 52, and foll.; "Ant. Jud." XII. 11.

³ "Shabbath," fol. 21, 23.

⁴ Mishnēh Torah, "Megillah va-Chanuccah."

The feast of Purim was observed on the 14th and 15th days of the month Adar. On these days the Book of Esther was solemnly read, because this feast commemorated the deliverance of the Jews under Ahasuerus. On the 13th Adar, the eve of the feast, there was a fast. We think that this is the feast referred to in one passage of St. John's Gospel.¹

¹ John v. 1. The days of Purim are mentioned, 2 Macc. xv. 36 ; Ant. Jud." XI. 6, § 13 ; Mishnah, "Megillah," II. 10. But we have no details of the manner in which this feast was observed in the time of Christ.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ESSENES.

Their Origin.—Their Name.—Their Fundamental Principle.—
They are Primarily Faithful Jews.—Their Relations with the
Pharisees.—The Way in which they Spent their Days.—Their
Socialistic Communism.—Their Relations with the People.—
Their Manners.—Their Mysticism.—They Separate them-
selves from Judaism.—Their Metaphysical Speculations.—The
Immortality of the Soul.—Their Messianic Hopes.—The Third
Order.—Jesus and Essenism.—How the Essenes Disappeared.

THE Essenes formed not only a party, a sect, but a religious order. They numbered four thousand, and lived apart from Judaism. It is possible to speak of Palestine in the time of Christ without referring to them at all. The Talmudists took no notice of them. They are not once named in the New Testament. Yet there they were, shut up in their convents, and leading the strangest and at first sight the most unaccountable life. It can be explained however, and Essenism is for us an open secret. We have little difficulty in understanding it. But all has not yet been said that might be said about this strange sect, this sort of excrescence on decaying Judaism; and when we read and re-read the authors who have written on it, we are almost certain to find in their writings some points not yet fully handled which might throw fresh light upon the belief and practices of the Essenes. Five writers of antiquity

speak of the Essenes, and all the descriptions which have been given of this sect, and all the theories current about it, have been drawn from one or other of these sources: Josephus,¹ Philo,² Pliny the Elder,³ Epiphanius,⁴ and Hippolytus.⁵

Their origin is no longer doubtful. They were originally Jews, and had no connection with Buddhists, Greeks, or even Alexandrines. We have spoken of the famous party of the *Chasidim* (the Pious) which was formed in the time of Ezra, revolted with Judas Maccabeus, and became the party of the Pharisees as opposed to the Sadducees. But all the Chasidim did not become Pharisees. Active life, a militant policy, and ardent discussions, were not congenial to the minority among them, who desired to lead a purely religious and contemplative life. Four thousand of them did not join the Pharisees. They retained their name *Chasidim*, the Syriac form of which is *Chsayā*, which has been corrupted into Essenes. (*Ἐσσαιώ* is not derived from the Hebrew, but from the Syriac *chsē*, a translation of the Hebrew *chasi*.⁶) We are aware that other etymologies have been suggested. It has been thought that it might come from *schā* (to bathe), or from *assī* (to heal), or again from *chashāy* (silence); since the Essenes were much addicted to baths as a sign of purification, were healers of the sick, and affected a mysterious silence. These various etymologies are possible, but the one we have suggested seems to us the most probable.

¹ "B. J.," II. 8, § 2-13; "Ant. Jud.," XIII. 5, § 9; XV. 10, § 4; XVIII. 1, § 5.

² "Quod omnis probus liber," § 12, 13.

³ "Hist. Nat.," V. 17.

⁴ "Adv. Hær.," XIX. 1, 2.

⁵ φιλοσοφούμενα.

⁶ Josephus mentions the existence of the Essenes under Aristobulus I. (105-104 B.C.).

The Essenes are then only a group detached from the old Chasidim. Of fervent and exalted piety, they considered that even the orthodoxy of the Pharisees was not pure enough. The strictest, most devout and advanced Jews did not seem to them as faithful as they ought to be. The synagogue, they said, is degenerate, and should not be frequented; it has become "the world."

These men of ardent convictions banded together to hold religious meetings among themselves, and for some time they were called Ebionites (the poor), because one of their principles was to affect poverty. By degrees they separated themselves more and more from the rest of the nation, and formed the sect, or rather order, of the Essenes.

They built great houses on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, at a short distance from the coast, and in the oasis of Engedi. These were simply convents, inhabited by veritable monks. Any one visiting these cloisters and observing closely the customs of these singular anchorites, would have at first seen nothing to remind him of Judaism. They offered no sacrifices, and abhorred those that were offered in the Temple. They never went up to Jerusalem. They never left their oasis, but lived entirely apart from their fellows.

Different as they appeared from other Jews, they were nevertheless only Israelites of an exaggerated type. They took the law of Moses absolutely literally, and carried it to its extreme consequences. The Essenes were only Pharisees consistent to the last degree. They were so orthodox that they became sectaries. In all ages of faith and fervent conviction, communities like the Essenes have arisen. In the Protestant Church of the nineteenth century, there are men and women

who say that the most rigid orthodoxy is not faithful enough, pure enough, and that the Church is too much identified with "the world." Such for instance are the Darbyites. Without pressing the comparison too far, the Darbyite movement in our own day may give a pretty exact idea of what Essenism was in the first century. The Essenes were the Darbyites of Judaism. The Jewish religion, especially the worship of the sanctuary, was, in their view, defiled. The priests were almost all Sadducees; this was enough to estrange the Essenes. If, therefore, they ceased to go up to the Temple, it was out of fidelity to their religious convictions. The holy places are no longer frequented, said they, save by degenerate Jews.

They had not as yet wholly broken with the sanctuary, however, for they still sent up offerings, but not of blood.

The Essenes desired to be "perfect Jews, fulfilling the whole law." We have called them extreme Pharisees. They had indeed changed the traditions of the Pharisees into inflexible rules. The opinions of the two parties were originally the same; but while the Pharisees had remained in the world, and had retained their liberty to a greater or less degree, the Essenes had formed a community and created a regular clergy. The Pharisees, for example, approved contempt for riches. The Essenes commanded it, and put it in practice. They were communists. The Pharisees held agapes, as we have described. The Essenes made these sacred feasts an absolute obligation, and every meal became an agape.

The Pharisees soon began to hold the Essenes in abhorrence. They could not endure to see the logical consequences of their principles thus carried out before

their eyes. They recoiled from the implied reproach: "This is the point to which *you* ought to come if you went far enough." The communism of the Essenes seemed to them ridiculous. "He who says: Mine is thine and thine is mine, is a fool,"¹ they said, with evident reference to the division of goods practised by the Essenes. They called them also "pious imbeciles,"² and "baptizers in the morning."³

And yet what was it the Essenes did? They simply took in a literal sense the minutest injunctions in Leviticus. It followed that they could not remain in the world, for had they done so they would have been constantly unwittingly violating the law on some point. What they said was this: It is the first duty of a religious Jew to fulfil the whole law. Let him then separate himself from this impure world, and live in solitude. In the oasis of Engedi, on the shores of the Dead Sea, he will find this solitude, and all those who think with him, accepting a common discipline, can devote themselves, in that unbroken quiet, to the strict observance of the Mosaic ordinances.

The oasis of Engedi is formed by magnificent date palms, and the dates, pure and wholesome food, sanctioned by the law, constituted the principal nourishment of these faithful Jews. They never entered a town, because the entrance gates were adorned with statues. They never used Greek or Roman coins, because the law says: "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image." They did not marry, because they could never fulfil all the injunctions of Moses to married people.⁴

¹ "Pirke Aboth," V. 14.

² "Sotah," 26 a.

³ Hemero-baptists, "Beracoth," 22 a. An allusion to the bath which the Essenes took every morning at 11 o'clock.

⁴ Ἑσσαιῶν οὐδεὶς ἀγεται γυναῖκα, says Philo.

All looked upon themselves as priests, for it is written, "Ye shall be a nation of priests." They abstained entirely from wine, that drink being forbidden to priests in the exercise of their office.

If the Essene was an exaggerated type of Pharisee, it is just to add that he was also an exaggerated type of priest. In the works hitherto written upon the Essenes, one or other of these explanations of their peculiarities has been insisted on. We believe that both must be combined. The Essene was primarily a perfect Jew, an Israelite indeed, keeping himself from everything unclean. Consequently he regarded himself as a priest, and at the same time he carried to extreme issues the logic of the Pharisees.

We may describe the way in which the Essenes passed their day. Rising with the sun, they offered prayer to God when the morning star appeared upon the horizon, just as did the priests in the Temple service.¹ Then they attended to their various occupations. The most part cultivated the soil, and we know that Moses sought to make his nation an agricultural people. At eleven o'clock the Essene plunged himself into cold water, putting off all his garments except a linen girdle. This was a bath for purification; it was a baptism. The whole brotherhood then gathered together in the common room. They were seated; deep silence reigned throughout the assembly. They took bread, and some other food sanctioned by the law. Their moderation was extreme. They only ate of one dish. The meal began and ended with prayer. Then work was resumed till the evening, when they gathered again at a second

¹ Josephus seems to say that their invocation in the morning was addressed to the sun ("B. J." II. 8, § 5). This assertion is quite baseless.

meal like the first. The Sabbath was rigorously observed. All food for that day was prepared the evening before. Lastly, the Essenes never used oil to anoint the body, lest it should have come from some pagan oil-press, or been made from fruits which had not paid tithe. Their deepest concern was not to contract any defilement; this thought was ever present with them. They always had at their side a napkin attached to a leathern girdle, to wipe their hands, and they wore garments of whitest linen.

Their discipline was of extreme severity. The Essene vowed blind obedience to his superior. Every house belonging to the order was administered by a council chosen by ballot. These strict regulations were rendered necessary by their communistic life.

The sect also liked to surround itself with a certain mystery. Religious communities which are shrouded in mystery attract the multitude, and are always invested with a sort of prestige in their eyes. It was so with the Essenes; the utmost respect was shown them.

It is probable that the people were attracted also in part by the communistic life of the Essenes. Social questions were pressing urgently upon the Jews of the first century. The idea of equality was asserting itself and gaining ground on all hands. There was no thought as yet of the equality of men as men. No Jew would treat a Gentile as a brother; it was only the equality of all Jews which was contended for. The Sadducees, who maintained the distinctions of caste, were detested. The Pharisees, who affected poverty, were, on the contrary, greatly beloved. But those who put the theory in practice, selling their goods and distributing to the poor, as the Essenes did, were the darlings of the people. That private fortunes should be divided has

always been the dream of the poor, and the idea of the community of goods is dear to the lower classes. In Palestine it was freely admitted that the rich were no better than the poor. People were even disposed to think that the rich man was the less worthy, for they called him "the bad rich man," and his riches "unjust." The people loved to contrast the humility of the Essenes with the Sadducean *hauteur*. The kingdom of Messiah was to be, as many thought, the kingdom of the poor, who were at length to find compensation for all their troubles. The Essenes seemed hastening the coming of this kingdom, and even anticipating it.

It must be observed that these socialist ideas had their root in the Mosaic institutions, and that here again the Essenes were faithful to the teaching of Judaism. The law contained many equalizing provisions. There was true socialism in the ordinances regulating contracts and property.¹ When Messiah cometh, thought they, all these provisions will be at length fulfilled. Peace and justice will reign here below. The world to come was not to be a heaven peopled with pure spirits, but a blessed company of people raised from the dead, living on an earth wherein "righteousness should dwell;" where the rights of all would be respected; and the Essenes were favourably regarded as anticipating and showing beforehand what this world to come would be like.

They were very good to the common people. They loved the humble, the feeble and the poor. They tended them freely when they were ill, and their prescriptions were highly esteemed. It was said that they did many miracles, and in particular that they had much

¹ See Renouvier. "La critique philosophique," No. 3, Feb. 15, 1877.

skill in casting out demons. For this purpose they used talismans and magic stones, and the title of one of their medical books has come down to us—the *Sēpher Replū'oth*, book of prescriptions. We have already referred to this.¹ It was supposed to be as old as King Solomon. It was also thought that the Essenes had the power of foretelling the future.²

Their communism was absolute. Philo and Josephus are equally positive on this point: "That which each has is the property of all, and the property of all belongs to each." Food and even clothing was made common stock. The Essene poured into the general treasury the wages of his work. One of them was treasurer, and carried the purse. He met the necessary expenses. If one member fell ill, he was cared for at the common expense. When they went on a journey they carried neither money nor provisions. The brethren to whom they went supplied all the needs of the travellers.³

The Essenes were certainly models of sobriety, virtue, and unselfishness. Their morality was exemplary. Satisfied with a little, the simplicity of their mode of living was extreme. "They only eat and drink to sustain nature," it was said; "they deny themselves as sin, all the pleasures of sense. They only throw aside their shoes and clothes when they are utterly worn out. They take neither gold nor silver beyond what is absolutely necessary." They had no slaves; all were free, and worked for one another. They had a horror of lying

¹ Book I. ch. xiv.

² Josephus quotes some prophecies of the Essenes, "Ant. Jud.," XIII. 11, § 2; "B. J.," I. 3, § 5; II. 7 § 3; "Ant. Jud.," XV. 10, § 5.

³ There were, indeed, secular Essenes, not living in the convents of Engedi. We shall speak of these presently.

as of bearing false witness, and they would never take an oath ; their word was enough.

The organization of the Essene community was very simple at first. Little by little, from the necessity of the case, it became more complicated. Practices and doctrines were introduced among the Essenes altogether new and foreign to the true spirit of Judaism. The same thing happened with their sect as with certain religious corporations of the middle ages, the principles of which were at first wholly evangelical, but which were led gradually to admit ideas and take up practices not only different from those enjoined by the Gospel, but sometimes altogether opposed to its spirit.

Monkery and asceticism always finish by developing mysterious doctrines and mystical speculations. The Essene monks were no exception. They decided at first that a new comer, not being able to attain at once to perfect purity, should pass through a novitiate. They fixed its duration at a year, at the close of which the Essene received an axe, a girdle, and a white robe. Then began two years of probation. At the end of these two years, the new member of the sect was admitted in the common meals and took his vow.¹

The Essenes came afterwards to distinguish four degrees of perfection, or rather of purity, and if two Essenes of different classes met and touched each other, the contact was a defilement for the one of the upper class. Each of them must then take a bath in order to purify himself. The four classes were distinguished thus : 1st, Children ;² 2nd and 3rd, Novices ; 4th,

¹ This vow was the only one permitted. When an Essene had once taken it, he might never take another.

² They received into their houses children whom they trained for their order.

Members properly so called. Lastly, in the highest rank, the Ἐπιμεληταί, the heads, who were strictly obeyed.

The Essenes became in the end philosophical mystics, but we need not have recourse to Buddhism or to the philosophy of the Alexandrine Jews in order to explain their speculative theories. The relations of Egypt with Palestine at the time which we are studying are well known, and the metaphysical researches in which the Essenes indulged undoubtedly had their origin on the shores of the Dead Sea. They were only a natural outgrowth of the life they led.

They occupied themselves much with the creation of the world. Reading often in the law, the first chapter of Genesis supplied them with a subject of endless research. From this to a system of cosmogony was but a step, and they soon took it. We divine the existence of such a system as we read the form of oath taken by the young Essene on his final admission to the community, the text of which is given in Josephus. He was made solemnly to promise to observe the customs of his sect, to transmit to those who came after him the received traditions, to keep the secret "of the books of the sect and the names of the angels." The first three promises are easy to understand; only the fourth is obscure. What is meant by the "names of the angels," we cannot tell; but it appears from this expression that these solitaries had an important doctrine as to the angels, in which their names played a certain part. Perhaps no great importance is to be attached to this fact. We know expressly from the Jewish books of the time that the Pharisees had a very complete and minute theology of the angels. Doubtless it was this same doctrine which the Essenes exaggerated, as was their wont. The

Jews believed in the existence of celestial spirits serving as mediators between God and men. It is therefore very natural that the Essenes should have shared the same faith, and should have given a special name to each class of angels. It is certain that their mysticism led them to turn their gaze towards the invisible world. In their life of retirement, they had ample leisure, and they occupied it in meditating on the world of spirits. If they came thus to attach real importance to the names of the angels, it was probably because at that time every name had a special significance. We know that the Jews never pronounced the name of Jehovah, and attributed mysterious virtues to its sacred consonants. This was the origin of faith in magical formulas. That faith was retained in the Christian Church. There were certain sacred phrases in the middle ages used to call up the devil or to drive him out. At the present day it is by repeating some magical words that the Catholic priest performs the miracle of transubstantiation. We have spoken of the formulas used by the doctors among the Pharisees when they were healing a sick man. The Essenes doubtless uttered, in prophesying or in healing, certain cabalistic phrases into which the names of angels entered.

Carrying everything to extremes, they pushed the Jewish theology to its furthest consequences. It may be said that they were in advance of their age, and were veritable gnostics before the time. Matter was in their view the source of evil, and they considered the body to be the prison of the soul. They said that souls had existed before bodies, in the state of pure spirits. "They come from the subtlest ether" and "have been attracted to matter by a sort of seduction." During their earthly life, they sigh for deliverance; they

earnestly desire to see the link broken that binds them to evil. Death will bring with it this moment so eagerly expected. The spirit will return to its true sphere, going back to the heavens; the body will return to its own place, mingling with the dust of the earth. The Essenes therefore positively denied the resurrection of the body, but affirmed emphatically the immortality of the soul. These two beliefs, so often confounded, are in reality utterly distinct. The old heathen, for example, believed in the immortality of the soul, but the idea of a resurrection of the body never occurred to them. The Jews, on the contrary, who were realists, and who never knew how to draw a philosophical distinction between body and soul, had no conception of a future life apart from a return to existence of the material body. The Essenes, on this point, as on many others, differed from the Jews; they became dualists and ascetics. Thus, under the influence of the monastic life, these men, who were at first the most orthodox of all the Jews, became little by little the opponents of the old Hebraism. The dearest joy of the ancient Israelite was to rest under his own vine and fig-tree, surrounded by his many children. The abundance of temporal blessings was to him the evident token of the Divine protection. How different was it with the Essene, who ate as sparingly as possible, compelled himself to celibacy, and only thought of the best means of freeing himself from the bondage of the flesh!

It is but just, however, to add, that Josephus, our only authority for the study of the speculations of the Essenes, is here not by any means a reliable guide. He is evidently mistaken when he places the Essenes between the Pharisees and the Sadduces, calling them all alike sectaries. Perhaps he is also in error when he tells

us that the Essenes had a definite theory of the relation of the body to the soul, and that they were determinists, who went so far as to deny free will.

Were the Essenes looking for Messiah, like the other Jews of their time? Josephus passes by this question in silence; but the omission is certainly intentional. He did not wish to speak to Greeks and Romans of hopes which were essentially revolutionary, and in which politics formed so important an element. To look for Messiah was to look for deliverance from the yoke of the foreigner, and for the destruction of the Roman power. The patriotism of the Essenes was doubtless not very ardent; they were almost exclusively absorbed in their religious observances. Nevertheless, we gather from certain passages in Josephus that they remained at heart attached to the national cause. We know that during the Jewish war of 66-70 they allowed themselves to be tortured rather than touch forbidden meats. And however little importance they may have attached to the political and terrestrial triumph of the Jews over the Romans, they may nevertheless have cherished Messianic hopes from a purely religious and speculative standpoint. We have shown that their communism itself was looked upon as an anticipated realization of the coming kingdom. They were wont to say that the kingdom of heaven (*Malecūth-hash-shāmayim*) was at hand. They were much occupied with eschatological questions, and it is not without reason that the Essenes have been regarded as a school of apocalyptic speculators.¹

The four thousand Essenes did not all live on the shores of the Dead Sea. A certain number of them, less rigid than the rest, dwelt in the cities. Refusing

¹ Hilgenfeld, "Die jüdische Apokalypitik."

to follow to the full the lead of the more fanatical spirits, they remained in the world. These were Essenes of the first degree, a sort of third estate, midway between the ordinary Pharisee and the rigorous Essene. They formed the *secular* clergy, while the *regular* clergy lived on the borders of the Dead Sea. They did not renounce marriage. Before entering into it, however, they spent three years in studying the character of her whom they had chosen as a wife, and she, on her part, promised to submit to the severest laws of purity.

If, as is probable, Jesus never visited the regular Essenes in the oasis of Engedi, he must certainly have met the secular Essenes, and must have often seen them passing along the streets of Jerusalem in their white robes. What were His relations with them? It is easy to draw parallels between His preaching and certain maxims of the Essenes. Jesus preached contempt for riches, and words such as these: "Blessed are ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God;"¹ "It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven;"² "Ye cannot serve God and mammon;"³ "Be not anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink?" etc.; "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you,"⁴ are the words of an Essene. When Christ says to the rich young man, "Sell all that thou hast, and distribute unto the poor,"⁵ He seems to be saying, "Become an Essene."

We may note also this precept: "Swear not at all; neither by the heaven, for it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of His feet; nor by

¹ Luke vi. 20.

² Matt. xix. 23.

³ Matt vi. 24 and foll.

⁴ *Ibid.* vi. 31-34.

⁵ Luke xviii. 22.

Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, for thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your speech be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: and whatsoever is more than these is of the evil one."¹ The utterances about marriage are still more suggestive of Essenism: "All men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are eunuchs, which were made eunuchs by men: and there are eunuchs, which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake."² We have already remarked that Christ travelled like an Essene. He adopted with His disciples the plan of a common purse. Judas Iscariot was the treasurer; he "had the bag, and bare what was put therein."³ The counsels which Jesus gave to His apostles in sending them on a mission, were exactly in accordance with the Essene rule: "Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses," etc.⁴

These resemblances are, however, only superficial. There can be no doubt in the mind of any one that Jesus knew the secular Essenes. He adopted some of their precepts and customs; but the learned Israelites of our day, Grätz, Cohen, and others, are mistaken when they represent Jesus as Himself an Essene. The root-idea of Essenism, purification before God to be obtained by outward observances, was strongly combated by Jesus. He always protested against it. He sat down to table without having plunged in water, to the great scandal of the Pharisees and Essenes who observed Him; and when He said, "Not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man; but that

¹ Matt. v. 34-37.

² Matt. xix. 11, 12.

³ John xii. 6.

⁴ Matt. x. 9, and parall.

which proceedeth out of the mouth,"¹ He condemned the very principle of Essenism. It is of Essenes that He is speaking when He says: "Except they wash their hands diligently (or up to the elbow), they eat not: and when they come from the market-place, except they wash themselves, they eat not: and many other things there be, which they have received to hold, washings of cups, and pots, and brazen vessels."² Jesus was never one of them. He opposed them and included them all in His vehement reprobation of formalistic Pharisaism. Nor must we forget that Jesus spoke to the multitudes, in broad day, in simple and popular language. He never adopted the esoterism and mystery so dear to the Essenes.

After His death, Essenism and Christianity acted and reacted upon each other. The first chapters of the Book of Acts show us the Christians of the primitive Church instituting a community of goods.³ It is probable that a certain number of Essenes had become Christians at this period. James, the brother of Jesus, and the head of the Jerusalem Church, was at once an Essene and a Christian. The Epistle which bears his name and the details which the Fathers give about him, such as that he let his hair grow, never ate meat, and always dressed like a priest, are decisive on this point.

The Essenes disappeared in the year 70. It is probable that they fell victims, for the most part, to their attachment to the law. They were not numerous. Extreme parties have always failed to gain the masses. They were much respected, but made few proselytes.

This strange sect helps us to understand how great was the reverence felt by the Jew of the first century

¹ Matt. xv. 11; see whole passage, 1-12. See also Luke xi. 37.

² Mark vii. 3-5.

³ Acts ii. 44, 45.

for Mosaism. The Essene forsook the world that he might fulfil the law. But great as was his zeal, he was after all only a religious dreamer. The Pharisee, with more intelligence, kept within the limits in which it was possible to establish a durable work. This work has in fact endured. We have it still before our eyes. The theology of the Judaism of to-day is in no way different from that which was common in the time of Christ, and which He rebuked. It has survived all cataclysms—the destruction of the Temple, and terrible persecutions. The Pharisee understood in what form it was necessary to clothe the religion of his fathers, if it was not to perish. The Essene, on the contrary, devised an extreme and abstract form of religion, which could not, in the nature of things, last long.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PRINCIPAL DATES IN THE LIFE OF JESUS.

The Date of His Death.—Of His Birth.—Length of His Ministry.
—The Passover of the Year 28.—The Second Sabbath after the First.—General Chronology.—The Year 781 A.U.C.—Feast of Purim, 782.—Ministry in Galilee.—Sermon on the Mount.—Turning-point in the Faith of the Disciples.—Itinerant Ministry.—Feast of Tabernacles in Year 29.—Feast of the Dedication, Year 29.—The Last Week.

THE true dates of ^{the} Gospel history are more easy to determine than is commonly supposed.¹ Let us begin with the date of the death of Christ. This is the most easy to fix, and, once known, will help us to determine the rest. According to the first three Gospels, Christ was crucified on the very day of the Jewish Passover; according to the fourth Gospel, it was on the eve of that day. Now the Passover was observed every year on the 15th Nisan. Christ died then either on the 14th or 15th Nisan. If the Scripture narratives seem to give us the choice between these two dates, they agree in saying that Christ rose from the dead on the third day, that is to say, on the Sunday. Now the 14th or

¹ On one condition only, namely, that we accept on this point the authority of the fourth Gospel. This we do. The historical details which it contains, the dates it indicates, and in particular its exact account of the journeys of Christ up to Jerusalem, are, in our opinion, clearly authentic.

15th Nisan did not fall on a Friday within the period of years that might reasonably be embraced in the inquiry, except in the year 30 or 33.¹

If we go farther back than the year 30, we have to go too far. Christ would have been scarcely twenty years old when the required day of the month and the week coincided. If we go beyond the year 33, we are carried too far in the opposite direction, and Christ would have been more than forty years old at the time of His crucifixion. Our choice is then limited to the two years 30 or 33, and we may be certain that Christ was crucified either on Friday, the 14th (or 15th) Nisan, year 30, or on Friday, the 14th (or 15th) Nisan, year 33; that is to say, on the first alternative, on Friday, April 7th; on the second, on Friday, April 3rd.² Let us see if there are any other data to enable us to choose between these two days and to arrive at a still more exact conclusion.

According to John's Gospel, the Jews once said to Jesus Christ: "Forty and six years was this temple in build-

¹ The doubt about the 14th or 15th remains in any case, for we do not know if the previous month, Adar, was full or deficient. On this subject, see Book I. ch. xi.

² M. Sabatier (*"Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses,"* Art. "Jésus Christ") speaks of this way of determining the date of the crucifixion, by observing in what years the 14th or 15th Nisan fell on a Friday, as "very casual." It is, on the contrary, most exact. The calendar of years in the first century, and of those years in particular, has been made. We have it before us, and it must be perfectly exact, for it is fixed by astronomical calculations. It must be observed, however, that we reason as if our present calendar, based upon strict astronomical data, had been in existence in the first century. Now this was not so, and we have shown in ch. xi. Book I. how arbitrary were the reckonings of the Jews. This arbitrariness always throws doubt upon any chronological conclusion, however evident it may appear.

ing.”¹ Now the Temple was not finished till long after the death of Christ. It was still in progress when these words were spoken; they must mean, therefore, that it was then forty-six years since the work began. Josephus tells us that the building of the Temple was begun in the autumn of the eighteenth year of Herod the Great. That prince came to the throne in the spring of A.U.C. 717 (37 B.C.). The eighteenth year of his reign began in 734 and ended in 735 (19 B.C.). Forty-six years from this time brings us to the spring of 781, or 28 A.D. This was then at the commencement of Christ’s ministry. The Passover referred to in chapter ii. of the Gospel of John being that of the year 28, that spoken of in chapter vi.² must be that of the year 29, and the Passover of the year of His death must be that of 30, which is one of the dates open to us. This agreement fixes our choice, and we conclude positively that we must adhere to the year 30, and that Christ was crucified on Friday, April 7th of that year. M. Renan, indeed, accepts the year 33,³ but he does not say why, and gives no explanation of the chronology he has adopted. M. de Saulcy gives the same date,⁴ but assigns no arguments of any weight. He even goes so far as to admit the correctness of the Dionysian era.⁵ Keim be-

¹ John ii. 20.

² The feast spoken of, John v. 1, was not the Passover, as we shall presently show.

³ “*Les Apôtres*,” Introduction, p. 1.

⁴ “*Sept siècles de l’histoire judaïque*,” p. 267.

⁵ This name is given to the vulgar era fixed by Dionysius the Less, originally a Scythian monk, who died in 540. He fixed the beginning of the Christian era A.U.C. 753, which he took to be the year of the birth of Christ, or “the year of the incarnation.” Now the passages Luke iii. 1, 2, 23 show that the Christian era must have begun earlier than this. Christ was certainly born earlier than the

lieved he had discovered data to prove that Christ died in the year 35. According to Josephus, he says, when Herod Antipas was overcome by Aretas in the year 36, the Jews saw in this defeat a well-merited punishment for the murder of John the Baptist. It must then have been, he concludes, but a short time—two years at the most—since the death of John; and if John was beheaded in 34, Christ could not have been crucified, at the earliest, before 35. This reasoning rests upon a very inadequate basis. Might not the Jews have regarded the defeat of Antipas as a punishment for the murder of John the Baptist even if it happened six or seven years after the crime? Moreover, the 15th Nisan does not fall on a Friday in the year 35; and lastly, the date we have accepted is confirmed by the statement of Luke,¹ that Jesus was “about thirty years old” in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, that is to say, A.U.C. 781 (28 A.D.), for this indication coincides exactly with that given by John,² “Forty and six years was this temple in building.” Tacitus also, who places the ministry of Christ under Pontius Pilate (that is, between the years 26–36), thus adds his confirmation to our opinion.

It is impossible to fix with certainty the year of the birth of Christ. M. Sabatier thinks that we must be content to place it approximately somewhere between A.U.C. 744 as the earliest, and 753 as the latest date. We believe it is possible to be more exact than this. Christ was “about thirty years of age” in the year 28. He must have been born then “about” two years before the vulgar era, that is to say about A.U.C. 751. This is

year 1 A.D. Before the time of Dionysius the Less the Church reckoned the years from the death of Christ.

¹ Luke iii. 1, 23.

² John ii. 20.

one indication. We may observe further that Matthew, Luke, and the Talmuds agree in placing His birth at the close of the reign of Herod the Great. Unhappily, Josephus gives different dates for the death of this prince, and mentions sometimes 750 A.U.C., and sometimes 752, or even 753.¹ But the first of these figures, 750, is that generally accepted as the date of the death of Herod.

There remains the enrolment under Quirinius, of which Luke speaks;² but it is difficult to explain. We know from the Acts of the Apostles,³ and from Josephus,⁴ of an enrolment made under Quirinius in 760 A.U.C. Luke speaks of the one he mentions as the "first." Now it is possible that Quirinius may have been twice legate of Syria,⁵ and that the first time was in 750 or 752. Without discussing here the authenticity of this "first" enrolment, we think we are justified in giving 749 or 750 as the probable date of the birth of Christ. He was born three or four years before the Christian era, and was about thirty-three years old when He was crucified.

¹ The astronomer Kepler discovered that there was a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 747 A.U.C., and asks if this strange fact may not have originated the story of the Star of the Magi. This is only a curious hypothesis, unsupported by any proof.

² Luke ii. 2.

³ Acts v. 37.

⁴ "Ant., Jud., XVIII.," i., § 1.

⁵ A Latin inscription, discovered in the neighbourhood of Rome (called the inscription of Tibur), seems to prove this. See the article "Une description relative au recensement de Quirinius," by M. Wabnitz, "Revue de théol. de Montauban," 1881-2. See also on the enrolment under Quirinius, "De censu Quiriniano," by Lecoultré, Paris, 1883. The writer shows that Luke has fallen into error in placing the enrolment to which he refers under Quirinius. This error remains inexplicable.

These are the principal dates, those which it is of primary importance to fix. It was then at the close of the reign of Herod the Great, at the time when the folly of that tyrant was at its greatest height, that there was born in a little village a child, who received the name of Joshua, translated Jesus by the Latins. He was born under a reign of terror, in that time of profound agitation which we have tried to describe in the third chapter of the first Book of this work. His childhood and youth were passed in the midst of the troubles of which Palestine was at that time the theatre; but he was brought up at Nazareth in Galilee, in the tetrarchy of Antipas, whose government was comparatively peaceable.

Let us try to give a brief chronological outline of the ministry of Christ. It lasted from the close of the year 27 to the month of April in the year 30, that is two years and a half. It has been said that the Synoptics bring it all within the compass of a single year. This is not correct. There are numbers of passages¹ which imply that Jesus often sojourned in Judea, and especially in Jerusalem. He went up thither for the feasts, and in particular for the Passover, and the fourth Gospel gives us more exact indications on this point. It speaks of three Passover feasts.² We have already referred to those of the years 28, 29, 30. We cannot admit that the feast spoken of John v. 1 was the Passover.³

The article (*Ἡ ἐορτή*), which would be absolutely

¹ Matt. xxi. 3; iv. 25; xv. 1; xxiii. 37; xxvii. 57; Mark vii. 1, etc., etc.

² John ii. 23; xi. 55; xiii. 1.

³ We thought for a long while that the reference here was to the Passover; but we do not think so now. See "*Jésus de Nazareth et le développement de sa pensée sur lui-même*," note on p. 66.

necessary if the reference was to the Passover, only occurs in the Codex Sinaiticus, and it is more natural to suppose that it may have been added in that MS. than suppressed in all the rest. Why should not John have called it the Passover? On the hypothesis that it was so, we should be obliged to admit the lapse of a year between the events narrated in chapter v. and those in chapter vi., a year passed by in complete silence by St. John. The words in John iv. 35 were evidently spoken in the month of December; those in John vi. 4 in April. The feast spoken of in John v. 1 was then simply the feast of Purim, which was kept in March.

The Synoptics seem to indicate another and later date when they speak of "the *second-first* sabbath;"¹ but this expression remains enigmatical. Wieseler thought he had discovered its meaning. This Sabbath, according to him, must have been the first of the second ecclesiastical year, reckoning from the last Sabbatic year. The explanation is mere hypothesis, and is now pretty generally abandoned.² If it were exact, it would be a further confirmation of our calculations, for it would bring the scenes described in this passage to the month of April in the year 29.

In any case, the event referred to must have taken place in the spring, and about the time of the Passover, for the apostles plucked the ears of corn and ate them. There were therefore three Passover feasts during the ministry of Jesus, and the one here spoken of preceded His death by just one year.

The general table of the chronology of the Gospels can be quite naturally determined by means of the dates

¹ Luke vi. 1.

² Reuss, "Les synoptiques." Comment. on Luke vi. "Revue de théologie de Lausanne," Letter from M. F. Chavannes, Oct., 1878.

we have given. Jesus of Nazareth, or more exactly Joshua of Nazareth (for Jesus, as we have said, is a Latinized Hebrew name), was born A.U.C. 749 or 750. He is called in the Gospels Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος, and the name given Him by His fellow-countrymen and His disciples would be Rabbi Yēshūa' Naḡaraī. Herod died at Jericho, a short time after the birth of Jesus, a few months at the least, three years at the most.¹ The child was brought up at Nazareth. He was about nine years old when Archelaus was deposed and the legate of Syria appointed a procurator to administer the affairs of Judea. It was under the first of these legates, called Coponius, that Jesus came up for the first time to the Temple at Jerusalem, at the age of twelve years.

In the year 28 (A.U.C. 781) He had already commenced His ministry. He was then about thirty years of age. His baptism, temptation, and the wedding in Cana of Galilee, must be placed before the Passover, that is to say in the first months of the year, and perhaps at the close of 27. After a short stay in Capernaum, He went up to Jerusalem for the Passover of 781. We assign to this date the cleansing of the Temple, and the interview with Nicodemus. He returned to Galilee some time after, and spent the summer months in Nazareth. In September He came again into Judea for the Feast of Tabernacles, and renewed His relations with John the Baptist. Towards the close of December He again left for Galilee, and passed through Samaria. "There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest," said He, in his interview with the Samaritan woman (John iv. 35). And as harvest was at the end of April, this must have been the end of December.

¹ Matt. ii. 16 and foll.

On His return to Nazareth, He remained for a time in the home, working, no doubt, to help maintain the family. In the month of March He went up to the holy city for the feast of Purim (14th and 15th Adar) which fell that year on the Thursday and Friday, March 17th and 18th (or on the Friday and Saturday, the 18th and 19th).¹ The feast of Purim did not necessitate cessation from work. The healing of the sick man at Bethesda, which took place on a Sabbath day, would thus fall on Saturday, March 19th.

Returning shortly after into Galilee, Christ began His active ministry. He decided to leave Nazareth, a village buried among the mountains, and went to settle in Capernaum, a large town on the road from Egypt into Syria. Capernaum is on the shores of the Lake of Tiberias. Jesus was only distant from it about eight or nine hours' walking in a direct line; but He went first to Magdala, which was also on the borders of the lake. There He passed the night, and, going on by the lake side (Mark i. 16), He met His first disciples between Bethsaida and Capernaum. He came into the neighbourhood of that town two days after leaving Nazareth. The next day was a Sabbath. He had then left Nazareth on a Wednesday, and it must have been on a Friday that Peter and the other disciples were called.

On the Saturday He taught in the synagogue of Capernaum, and the events took place which are narrated in the Synoptics (Mark i. 29-34; Luke iv. 38-41; Matt. viii. 14-17). On the Sunday, very early in the morning, He went into a solitary place apart to pray (Mark i. 35-38; Luke iv. 42, 43). He spent that whole week in Galilee. The fame of Him reached as far as Syria (Matt. iv. 23, 24; ix. 35; xii. 15 and foll.). Gradually the few

¹ According as the preceding months had been full or deficient.

disciples who formed His most intimate circle gathered round Him. The authorities at Jerusalem began to be stirred. Some scribes came to watch Him and to listen to His teaching, as did also the Pharisees who lived in Galilee. These knew Him. They had met Him twice in Jerusalem (John ii., v.). Jesus seemed to them openly at issue with Judaism. We place in this week the calling of Matthew, and Christ's words about fasting. The six disciples who were the first to attach themselves to Him were Peter, Andrew, James, John, Philip and Bartholomew.

The Saturday following is that which the Gospels call the "second-first." If Wieseler's explanation is correct (though, as we have shown, it is a mere hypothesis), this Saturday would be the 9th of April. The preceding Saturday must then have been the 2nd, and the calendar of this part of the Gospel history becomes easy to fix.

The next week was one of the most important in the life of Christ. The first day He went up into a mountain to pray. He chose the twelve apostles (Mark iii. 13 and foll.). He then gave the teaching, some fragments of which have been preserved to us under the name of the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus "sat down" on the mountain,¹ Matthew tells us, and "taught." This was no doubt to the north-west of Capernaum, where there was a chain of hills. The word "*sat down*" and the imperfect tense of the verb "to teach," which is used, show that what is here intended is a series of discourses uttered by Christ during a certain time—several days at least, and only fragments of which have come down to us. Jesus now for the first time proposes to found a Church. The twelve apostles are to form the basis of His ἐκκλησία.

¹ καθίσαντος. See Acts xviii. 11 : ἐκάθισέ τε ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ μῆνας ἕξ.

A short time after (Luke viii. 1-3) we see Him passing through Galilee accompanied by His apostles and by some women who attended to His daily needs. He sends His apostles forth on a mission. Judas carries the common purse. They travel, no doubt, after the manner of the Essenes. Jesus has on His seamless robe, a turban on His head, fringes to His mantle.¹ Two messengers from John the Baptist come to put to Him the question: "Art Thou He that should come?" Shortly after, Jesus hears of the death of His forerunner. He is told at the same time that Herod has his eye on Him. He crosses the lake, and retires into the neighbouring hill country of Bethsaida Julias, in the territory of Philip the tetrarch. The crowd follows Him, eager to make Him king. He begs the apostles to return to the boat and go back with Him to Capernaum. The next day He speaks in the synagogue of that place. It cannot be a Sabbath day, for the people would not be allowed to have their boats on the lake in that case. It must be either a Monday or Thursday, the only days, except the Sabbath, when the synagogue was open. There Jesus delivers His great sermon on the Bread of Life (John vi.).

We have now come to the critical period in the ministry of Christ, when the people forsook Him, and He was left alone with the Twelve, and when the inevitableness of His violent death was realized by Him for the first time. The three Synoptics here coincide with the fourth Gospel (Matt. xvi. ; Mark viii. ; Luke ix.). Jesus retires to the north of the country, and on the way to Cesarea Philippi He asks Peter two questions: "Whom say men that I am?" and "Whom say ye that I am?" He has decided to break with Judaism and with the theocracy.

¹ See Book I. ch. x.: Vestments.

The word "Church," already used, is now definitely adopted ; an independent community is founded. Hitherto Christ has spoken chiefly of the kingdom of God ; henceforth He Himself will become the great subject of His teaching. He will reveal Himself more fully to His disciples. He will initiate them into His inner and spiritual life. His ministry in Galilee has now become impossible. Compelled to avoid the great centres of life, He goes as far as Tyre and Sidon, but He neither can nor will avoid a decisive encounter with His adversaries ; He has to do the will of His Father, and He goes up to Jerusalem (Mark vii. 24, 31 ; Luke ix. 51). We find Him there this year at the feast of Tabernacles (John vii. 2). This began on the 15th Tishri. In the year 29 that day fell on Tuesday, October 11th. "The last day, the great day of the feast" (John vii. 37) was either the 19th or the 20th of October. Saturday, the 15th, came, in any case, in the midst of the feast, and it was on that day that Jesus showed himself unexpectedly to the people in the Temple (John vii. 14).

There can be no doubt that several events narrated by Luke, such as the sending forth of the seventy, really took place between the feast of Tabernacles and the feast of the Dedication. During this last year of His life, Jesus went much up and down the country, for He had left Capernaum immediately after the great crisis in the faith of the disciples and before the feast of Tabernacles (Luke ix. 51). The 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th chapters of Luke probably belong approximately to the year 29. This Evangelist has brought into a single journey (ix. 51-xviii. 43) all the events which transpired during a whole year of the Lord's itinerant ministry.

The feast of the Dedication, of which we read in John x. 22, lasted eight days, beginning on the 25th Kislev

(19th or 20th December to 27th or 28th, year 29). Only John and Luke then tell us anything of what passed in the six months from October 29th to April 30th.

After the feast, Jesus passed over Jordan and tarried there. We have no continuous record of the early months of the year 30. We follow Jesus to Bethany (John xi. 1-46), whence He retires to Ephraim, a little farther to the north-east. He then returns into Galilee, which He visits for the last time, and comes again into Judea by way of Perea (Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1). This was His last journey. He passed through Jericho, where He met Zaccheus, and finally came to Bethany (John xii 1-11). The supper at Bethany must have taken place on Saturday, April 1st, in the year 30 (9th Nisan), a Sabbath day, and six days before the Pass-over.

We have now come to the last week of the life of Christ. On Sunday, April 2nd, He solemnly entered Jerusalem. In the evening He returned to Bethany (Mark xi. 11). On that day the lamb was chosen and set apart for the Passover (Exod. xii.). The Synoptics, who mention only one journey up to Jerusalem, assign to it a number of events which certainly took place at other times; for example, the purification of the Temple, which is put in its right place by John alone. The same may be said of Christ's replies to the Sadducees on the question of divorce; to the Pharisees on the tribute money; and to the scribe who asked for a summary of the law.

It cannot be affirmed with certainty that on Monday, the 3rd, Christ did such and such a thing; on Tuesday, the 4th, something else, and so on. One fact only is beyond question. He remained the whole day in the Temple, and in the evening He went out of the city and passed

the night either at Bethany (Mark xi. 11) or at one of the farms on the Mount of Olives. He seems thus to have taken some precautions for His safety during these closing days (John xii. 36; Matt. xxiv. 1). He did not wish to evade death, or He might have gone back to Galilee; but neither would He hasten it by giving Himself up to His enemies.

It was doubtless on the Tuesday that, seated on the Mount of Olives, in view of the Temple, He spoke the words about the end of the world and the fall of Jerusalem (Matt. xxiv., xxv., and parall.). The Wednesday he passed at Bethany. On the evening of that day the people put away any leaven still remaining in the house.

On Thursday, the 13th or 14th Nisan (April 6th, year 30), He sent two of His disciples to make ready the Passover. In the afternoon He went to Jerusalem and entered the house of a friend. There He found all ready for the last supper with the apostles.

We have said the 13th or 14th Nisan. We have already explained (Book I. chap. xii.) that this uncertainty arises from the imperfect way in which the Jews kept their calendar. According to the Synoptics, it was the 14th; according to John it was the 13th. The two cannot be reconciled. We must choose between them. We should be at first inclined to believe that here again the fourth Evangelist is right, and that the Synoptics have made a mistake of a day. The Talmudic tradition agrees also with John, and makes the 14th Nisan the date of the death of Christ.¹ Again, if Jesus died on the 15th, He must have been crucified on the great day of the feast, which we can hardly suppose. Would a sentence of death have been carried out at so august a moment? Simon of Cyrene, whom they compelled to

¹ "Pesachim," ch. I.

bear His cross, was coming back from the fields, and men did not go to field-work on the 15th Nisan¹ (Mark xv. 21).

All this would seem to indicate that Christ was crucified on the 14th, at the time when the Passover was slain and eaten, the very hour of the *παρασκευή*, and the next day, Saturday, was the great day of the feast. But on this supposition there remains one insurmountable difficulty. Jesus must then have eaten the Passover with His disciples on the Thursday evening, twenty-four hours before the usual time. The Synoptics speak with perfect distinctness. He ate the Jewish Passover and then instituted the Christian Passover.² Undoubtedly there is nothing impossible in itself in the idea that Jesus should have anticipated the Jewish custom. But that which does seem utterly inadmissible is the supposition that the two disciples should have been able to prepare the Passover on the eve of the usual day; that is to say, that the lamb should have been sacrificed by a priest in the Temple twenty-four hours before the time fixed by the law and observed by all the people. The performance of the paschal ceremony on the 13th would have been sacrilege, and is inconceivable. We are constrained then to fall back upon the first hypothesis, namely, that Jesus was crucified on the 15th, the great day of the feast, for this is less impossible than a paschal sacrifice offered on the 13th Nisan.³

After instituting the supper, Christ spoke the words recorded in the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th chapters of

¹ Talm. Babyl., "Sanhed.," 43 *a*, 67 *a*.

² John, on the contrary, passes over in silence both the paschal meal and the institution of the Lord's supper. This is a difficulty with which we need not deal here.

³ See Book II. ch. xiii. : The Feasts.—The Paschal Sacrifice.

John. Towards midnight He and His companions went out, passed through the silent streets of Jerusalem, left the city by the Sheep Gate,¹ and came to the brook Kedron and the Mount of Olives. Jesus endured the agony in Gethsemane. He was arrested and taken to the house of Annas, which stood on the top of the hill.²

Very early on Friday, 7th of April, He was brought into Jerusalem, to the abode of Pilate, close to the Tower of Antonia. He was tried by the procurator in the paved hall beside the guard chamber on the ground floor, which was used as a prætorium. He was taken also before Herod Antipas, who had come up to the feast, and was probably staying in his father's splendid mansion.³ Condemned to the death of the cross, Jesus was led to the west of the city, outside the walls. He was crucified with two others, on a piece of waste land where was a round bare mound called the skull, not far from the Gate of the Gardens, and in front of the Tower of Hippicus.

He was fastened to the cross at nine o'clock and died at three in the afternoon.

The same evening, before six o'clock, His body was taken down from the cross, and laid close by in a new tomb cut out of the rock by the family of Joseph of Arimathea.

The other dates of the Gospel history are easy to calculate. The Resurrection took place on the 9th of April, the Ascension on the 18th of May, and the first Christian Pentecost on the 28th of May, in the year 30.

¹ Book I. ch. ii. : Description of Jerusalem.

² *Ibid.* : Environs of Jerusalem.

³ *Ibid.* : The Palaces.

CHAPTER XVI.

JESUS AND THE PREACHING OF THE GOSPEL.

The Teaching of Jesus as Handed Down to us.—It Resembles that of His Contemporaries.—Two New Ideas.—Christ and the Law.—Salvation by Faith.—The Kingdom of God.—Jesus and the Messianic Ideas of His Time.—The Suffering and Crucified Messiah.—The Statements of Jesus about Himself.—Temptation.—A Word to Simon Peter.—Gethsemane.—Jesus was not one of the Illuminati.—His Preaching was a Reaction.—Influence of His Environment.—Jesus not to be Surpassed.

“HE grew up before Him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground,”¹ said Isaiah, speaking of the servant of the Lord, and these words in their application to Jesus, come forcibly to our mind as we close this work. The land of Palestine was emphatically a dry ground, in the first century. A blast of death had passed over it and made it barren. But lo! out of this sterile soil springs up a new plant, which is to become the great, spreading tree of Christianity. Jesus speaks. He proclaims the Gospel in this world of scribes and doctors of the law, who were preaching salvation by works and the coming advent of a Messiah in power and glory.

What were the special characteristics of the preaching of Christ? We shall try to answer the question in this closing chapter, taking the preaching itself as our guide.

¹ Isa. liii. 2.

Some maintain that on critical grounds nothing positive can be affirmed about Jesus.¹ We reply on equally critical grounds, that from a study of the Synoptics alone we get a collection of the precepts and teaching of Jesus the genuineness of which cannot be called in question by any fair and unprejudiced person. Some would refer us to the ideas propounded by Strauss in his first "Life of Christ,"² We refer them in reply to the remarkable critical works on the Synoptics which have appeared in Germany since the publication of that book, and the fairness of which Strauss himself acknowledges in his "New Life of Christ."

What was it that took place in the midst of that Jewish world which we have tried to describe? A universal religion was founded, and became first the substitute for Judaism itself, and afterwards for the other national religions of the civilized world. A great law of history was fulfilled. Christianity had undoubtedly its foundation in the past. The history of the growth of Christian dogmas is a long one. It began before Christ and continued after him. But Jesus gave to the religious movement then in process, the impulse it needed. He truly created the new order of things. He was, in a word, the Founder of Christianity, and this title, which some have tried to dispute, cannot be wrested from Him.

We observe first (and the reader of this book cannot have failed to remark this), that upon many important questions Jesus shared the views of His contemporaries. It does not seem possible to connect Him with any school of His time; but it may be said that He borrowed from all. He owed much to the Pharisees. He

¹ See E. Havet, "*Revue des deux mondes*," April 1st, 1881.

² Published in 1835.

adopted their doctrine of Providence and of the resurrection of the body. He shows such an intimate knowledge of them that He must have thoroughly studied their teaching and extracted from it all that was most generous and elevated. But we cannot go so far as to say with Keim, that at one stage of His early religious development He must have been Himself a Pharisee, and only afterwards abandoned that position. This is a gratuitous hypothesis.

We have already shown that Jesus borrowed from the Essenes.¹ We shall not say more on this subject here. But we may remark that the exegesis adopted by Him is sometimes the same as that of His contemporaries, as for example, in the proof He adduces that the resurrection of the dead is in the Pentateuch.² He certainly shared the current ideas of His nation in reference to demons and evil spirits. This must be obvious to any one who reads the Gospels with unbiassed eyes. In a word, He was a Jew all His life. We are not told that He ever forsook the worship of the synagogue, and on the eve of His death He kept the Passover with His disciples.

There were, however, in the teaching of Jesus two entirely new ideas, which seem to us of unquestionable originality. The rabbinical teaching of His contemporaries, as we have set it forth in the preceding chapters, might, as we have said, be summed up in two sentences: Keep the whole law, and look for a Messiah who is to reign upon the earth. Jesus taught: Men are to be saved by faith, and I, who am to be crucified, am the Messiah. He rebuked both the doctrine of saving works and the expectation of an earthly Messianic reign;

¹ Chap. xiv.: The Essenes.

² Matt. xxii. 31 foll., and parall.

and instead of these, He preached justification by faith, and a spiritual kingdom of Messiah, of which He was the centre. These two doctrines contain, as it seems to us, the whole Gospel.

The first is the doctrine of faith. How can a man enter the kingdom of God? asked the Jews of Christ's day. The reply of their own teachers was, "By keeping the law," and we have shown how they regulated their lives and fenced round the sacred code with a hedge of precepts. But in so doing they stifled the religious and moral principle. They no longer asked: Is this good, or is it evil? But, is it lawful or unlawful? Religion had become a science, a *γνῶσις*. When we read the writings of Israelites of our own day upon the Jews of the time of Christ, we are confounded by the calm way in which they speak of these deplorable doctrines. They offer no criticism on them, do not even suggest that there is anything amiss. They seem to have no idea that they are crushing the very life out of religion. God was no longer anything more than a creditor who had to be reckoned with. A religious act performed, a prayer recited, an almsgiving or ceremonial cleansing, made the doer righteous before God. Now Jesus taught the very opposite of this. He rejected all the casuistry of the Pharisees. He showed that the debt contracted with God was a debt that could never be paid, and that there was no room for hope at all, unless God would unconditionally remit the whole. But He does remit it, for He is the "Father." This name "Father," as applied to God, was certainly not unknown to the contemporaries of Christ, but He alone grasped its true and deep meaning. God is the Father. He is not then a merciless creditor; He remits the debts, He forgives the sins of His children. Jesus does not indeed

abolish the law. He does not even do away with the tithing of "mint and anise and cummin:"¹ "These things," He says, "should ye have done"; but He does reject all the traditions of men which, instead of helping to fulfil the law, frustrate its real intention. The protecting hedge has become an impassable barrier. He will not have men attach importance to that which is merely secondary, such as washing hands before sitting down to meat, rubbing ears of corn in the hands on the Sabbath day, taking a place at the table without knowing if everything has been prepared according to the ritual, and if the tithes have been fully paid. "Eat such things," he says "as are set before you."²

What is a man to do then to be justified before God? First of all, to recognise that the seat of evil is in the heart, that adultery is in the heart, that murder is in the heart, and to repent.³ The call to repentance is addressed by Christ to every man, for every man is a neighbour, even the Samaritan—an unheard-of assertion in His day. All are called to repent, and all can repent. On this point Christ only follows the tradition of John the Baptist, and takes up his appeals; but He goes beyond him when He says that repentance is a change of heart and a condition of pardon; when He shows that this pardon is granted by God to any one who seeks it with a contrite heart, and when He declares that if God shows mercy it is a gratuitous act on His part, for He is in no way our debtor. If a man does his duty it is no merit to him. "When ye shall have done all the things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants."⁴

Faith, as spoken of by Christ, is sometimes simple

¹ Luke xi. 42.

² *Ibid.*, x. 8.

³ Matt. v. 21, and foll.

⁴ Luke xvii. 10.

belief in a religious fact, for example¹ in the prophecies; but in His preaching it is mainly an act of trust, and is inseparable from a change of life.²

Christ spiritualizes the kingdom of God, and teaches His disciples that it comes in the heart. They enter the kingdom by faith, by trust. The kingdom is for the childlike; not for those who reason about, but for those who *do* the will of their Father in heaven and are prepared to make any sacrifice for Him. A man must be ready to sell his goods, to break the closest ties of family, to renounce marriage, even to lay down his life. Yet these are not stated duties to be learned; they are not rites to be accomplished. To any one filled with the spirit of the Gospel, duties come of themselves; they are done out of the loving fulness of the heart.

We have spoken of the Gospel. Jesus clearly indicated by this word that He meant to found a new order of things. This "good news" (*εὐαγγέλιον*) is not a mere selection of Mosaic precepts, such as Hillel might have made, but the fulfilment of those precepts effected by virtue of a changed heart and by purely moral suasion. "No man putteth a piece of undressed cloth upon an old garment, neither do men put new wine into old wine-skins."³ The old wine-skins and the worn out garments must be cast away; both form and substance must be changed. Thus did Jesus protest against the errors of His day, and the belief that the strict observance of the law would set a man right with God.

The second error of Christ's contemporaries was an ardent, passionate, feverish, politico-religious looking

¹ Luke xxiv. 25.

² Matt. vii. 21, and foll. ; vi. 14 ; xviii. 35 ; xxv. 31-45.

³ Matt. ix. 16, 17, and parall.

for the coming of Messiah's kingdom ; and the second entirely original idea conveyed by His teaching was a spiritual conception of Messiah. To this we attach the utmost importance, for it gives the key to all His ministry and to all His work.

The Messianic idea must have presented itself to Him as it existed in the minds of His fellow countrymen. He met with it at the very outset of His ministry, and at once set Himself against it as false and unscriptural. He declared Himself to be the Messiah, and He conceived the idea, so new and strange, so offensive and inadmissible to the mind of a Jew, of a humble, suffering Saviour, who should be crucified out of love to His brethren and in obedience to the will of God.

He did not rise all at once to the apprehension of this startling Messianic idea. Christians generally think of Jesus as knowing perfectly from the very beginning of His ministry what He was and what He was to do in the world. It is supposed that His plan was all determined beforehand, and that He unfolded it gradually. From the very first He is thought to have known that He was to die the death of the cross ; and if He did not make the slightest allusion to it till the last year of His ministry, His silence is supposed to have been intentional. It was part of His plan. Now we cannot believe this. This Jesus, who is reticent from fear of consequences, and dares not say all He knows, seems to us out of harmony with either moral or historic truth. We take the manhood of Christ to have been a real thing, and we believe that it was developed like that of the humblest of men. It was only little by little that He apprehended the will of His Father, and if He did not from the first speak of His violent death, it was that He was not yet aware that it lay before Him. His

spiritual conception of the Messiahship, in itself so new, so original, developed slowly. It certainly did not come to Him all at once. The struggle was long and painful.

His faith in the heavenly Father grew up without effort in the calm retirement of prayer, and out of the depths of His own heart and inner consciousness. But here, on this Messianic ground, He had to pass through a fierce fight of temptations. These arose out of the very fact that He was a Jew, and had therefore innocently imbibed, from his infancy, the ideas of Messiah current among His people. It was not without an inward struggle that He began to preach repentance and salvation by faith as we have just set them forth. He had to renounce the beliefs in which He had been brought up, in order to arrive at the pure and lofty spiritual conception of the only true conditions of entrance into the kingdom of God. But far more terrible and full of anguish must have been the conflict with the Messianic beliefs of His age, so dear to every son of Israel who loved his religion and his country.

Those who have read the description we have already given¹ of the Messianic beliefs in the first century will understand what this theology was with which Jesus was familiar. He did adopt certain parts of it, but with this great and capital difference, that the Messiah was to be a lowly, suffering, and crucified man.

It was to spreading this new doctrine, in opposition to the Messianic beliefs of His time, that He devoted the larger part of His ministry ; because these false beliefs had the strongest hold of the people.

If the Talmuds speak here and there of the sufferings of Messiah, it is because those who compiled them had

¹ Book II. chap. v.

come under the influence of Christianity. Genuine Judaism was never favourable to this idea. It was a "stumbling block" to the Jews, as Paul said.¹ The passages in the prophets, the 53rd of Isaiah, for example, where the sufferings of the servant of God are spoken of, were not then applied to Messiah.² When Jesus preached this doctrine, it was entirely new. He did not even get it from John the Baptist, who always remained a thorough Jew in his conception of the Messiah, who was to be the Judge of the world, and the Avenger. It was on this point that Christ separated from John, and taught, "That the least in the kingdom of heaven was greater than he."

We have said that Jesus proclaimed Himself the Messiah, and preached faith in Himself. We need not dwell on this point: the claim was not surprising in the age in which Christ lived. Many others had advanced it, and they were certainly not all impostors. Some were no doubt sincere. We repeat then, that the claims advanced by Jesus in this respect were not extraordinary and new. He said that men must give up all for Him, and that those who confessed Him before men should be confessed by Him before God. He said, "Come unto Me." He declared that the most sacred ties of family life were second to the duty owed to Himself. Now it was possible in the first century for a man to believe himself to be the Messiah, and to exalt himself even to this degree. The fever might lay hold of any one who breathed the heated atmosphere of the Judean world; and the sayings of Jesus about Himself might be set down to excitement and fanaticism.

But the surprising thing, and that which forbids our so explaining them is, that while He preached faith in

¹ 1 Cor. i. 23.

² The Targums are clear on this point.

Himself, Jesus said also that He should die on the cross, and that He was not the looked-for King, who was to be the conqueror of the foreigner. This fact alone disposes of the modern explanation of a Christ who was simply an inspired fanatic. What strikes us, on the contrary, when Jesus speaks of Himself, is His self-possession, His clear-sightedness, the utter absence of illusion.

There were in His ministry three moments in which the conflict of which we have spoken, which was the true passion of His life, seems to come out most clearly. These three solemn moments occur, one at the beginning, one in the middle, and one at the close of His public life. The first struggle is revealed to us in the mysterious narrative of the temptation in the wilderness.¹ We find the key to this in His distrust of the Messianic ideas of His day. He had come to doubt the things which were most certainly believed by those around Him. He felt that a great error had crept into the Jewish theology ; that the idea of a Messiah who should seek His own glory by changing stones into bread ; of a thaumaturgus who should cast Himself down from a pinnacle of the Temple to astonish the world by prodigies ; of a King who should rule over all the nations of the earth, must be a suggestion of the spirit of darkness, and not the divine ideal of Messiah. For forty days the conflict went on, and at length He came out victorious from this first ordeal.

In the middle of His ministry, one year before His death, and at the very time when the inevitable necessity of His crucifixion dawned upon Him, the temptation came again. It took form when Peter exclaimed : "That be far from Thee, Lord ; this shall not be unto

¹ Matt. iv. 1 and foll ; Luke iv. 1 and foll.

Thee."¹ It seemed to Him the very voice of Satan speaking through the lips of the apostle, and, determined to give him no advantage, and not to allow him to begin again the old struggle, He exclaimed: "Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art a stumbling block unto Me." The will of the Father was that He should suffer and die; this was the path of victory for Himself, of salvation for the world.

Nor was this all. What He had to suffer in order to stamp out the Jewish error and to give life to the new Messianic idea, appears further in the third and last conflict, on the Mount of Olives. There was still time to escape death; but this would be His will, not the will of His Father. He will drink the cup that His Father has given Him to drink. He will overcome once for all. He will die for His conception of duty. He is to save the world, and it can only be saved if He is faithful to His ideal in death as in life. And are we to be told that Jesus was a self-deceiver? that He was altogether moulded by the beliefs of His nation? Are we to be told that He was intoxicated by success, and made a fanatic by the enthusiasm of His disciples? that He was one of the illuminati? We protest against such assertions in the name of history, in the name of the best verified facts of the life of Jesus. We repeat, that which is most striking about Him is His calmness and clear-sightedness, His thoughtful observation and the self-possession which never for an instant deserts Him. It is easy to understand that in this age there were many cases of mania, and that more than one excited Jew believed himself to be the Messiah. But there was One who cannot be numbered with these fanatics, in whom it would be impossible to point out anything

¹ Matt. xvi. 22, 23.

but the very reverse of fanatical excitement, One who always showed a holy dread of being carried away by the extravagances of the people; and that One was Jesus. What prudence characterized Him, and at first what reserve! But when the time was come, how boldly He stood up for the truth! So little did He allow Himself to be swayed by the Messianic beliefs of His time, that those beliefs were rejected by Him, superseded and transformed. It may be said that He carried His protest against them even to death upon the cross.

We sum up in one word our idea of the teaching of Jesus. It was a reaction, a spiritual and comprehensive reaction, against the formalism and exclusiveness of the Jewish nation. Pressed to their extreme issues, these tendencies called forth from one of its own sons the sublime protest called the Gospel. No one was ever less the man of his age than Christ. No one came less under the shaping influence of environment. No one was ever more free from prejudices, more independent in judgment.

Whence, then, did He derive these spiritual and enlarged conceptions? First of all, from John the Baptist, to whom scant justice is usually done. His work as the Forerunner was a great work, and it is impossible to tell how largely Jesus was influenced by him. The reading of the Old Testament must also have revealed Jesus to Himself. He seems to have studied by preference the Psalms and the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah. He doubtless discerned the idea of the suffering Messiah in the 53rd of Isaiah, and apprehended its meaning more truly than His contemporaries. But, above all, He derived His new ideas from His own inner consciousness, and they grew in the long hours of communion with His Father. Jesus was in this sense an inspired man;

and we are logically led to say that the new thing in the first century was not so much the teaching of Jesus, as Jesus Himself.¹ The appearance of this man, His teaching, His entire life, is a miracle. If that life is not "a sign," to use the Gospel word,² the sign by which a revelation of God, a communication of God to men, can be recognised, then we have no means of verifying such communications.

The problem of the origin of Christianity is then not insoluble. God has given us enough light to solve it. Our reason is conquered and convinced, and we are conscious of a deep love filling our heart for Him who thus lived and thus suffered, for this Man whose moral heroism is summed up in the words: "The cup which My Father has given Me, shall I not drink it?" for the carpenter who, alone in the midst of a hostile world, conceived the idea of a universal salvation, wrought out by a purely spiritual work; who was certain beforehand of failing in the fight, and of dying for His faith; who was not even sustained in His task by the approval of His disciples, since they did not understand Him, but solely by the approval of His conscience and of His God. Thus Jesus founded a religion for all mankind and for all time. M. Renan concludes his "*Vie de Jésus*" by saying: "He will never be surpassed; among the sons of men there is not born a greater than Jesus." These

¹ We do not pretend in this concluding chapter to treat so vast a subject exhaustively. We are not speaking of the witness which the Son of man so conclusively bore to His dignity as the Son of God. Such a study could not find place in a life of Jesus. We have confined ourselves to noting some historical facts which seem to form the natural conclusion to our work. We have not attempted a Christology.

² σημεῖον.

words are among the most Christian ever written. In order to do away with Christianity, to make it an effete religion, this one thing is needed—that one should come who should surpass Jesus, who should be greater than He. And this will never be. Hence we Christians dare to say that Christianity is eternal, that Christianity is the truth.

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